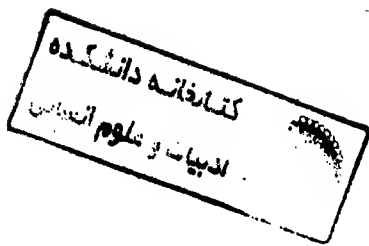
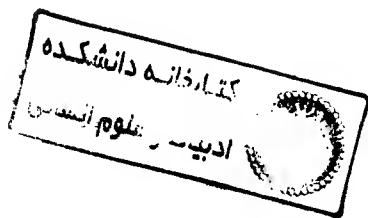


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# Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia



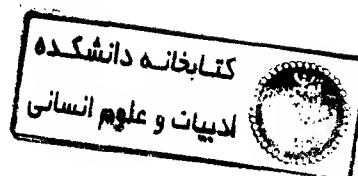
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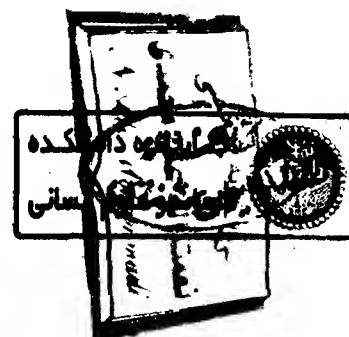
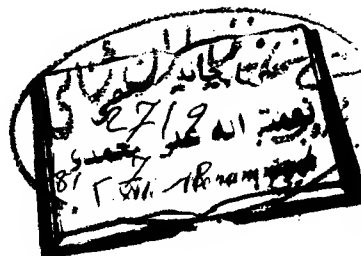
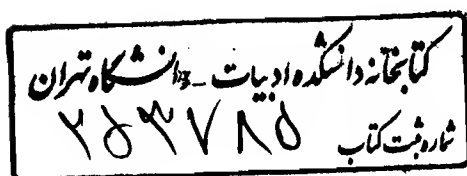
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Number 6



# Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia



Muhammad A. Dandamayev  
*Oriental Institute, St. Petersburg*

Iranians in Achaemenid



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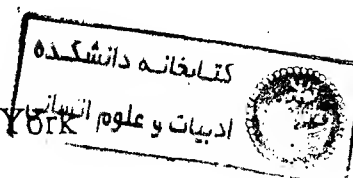
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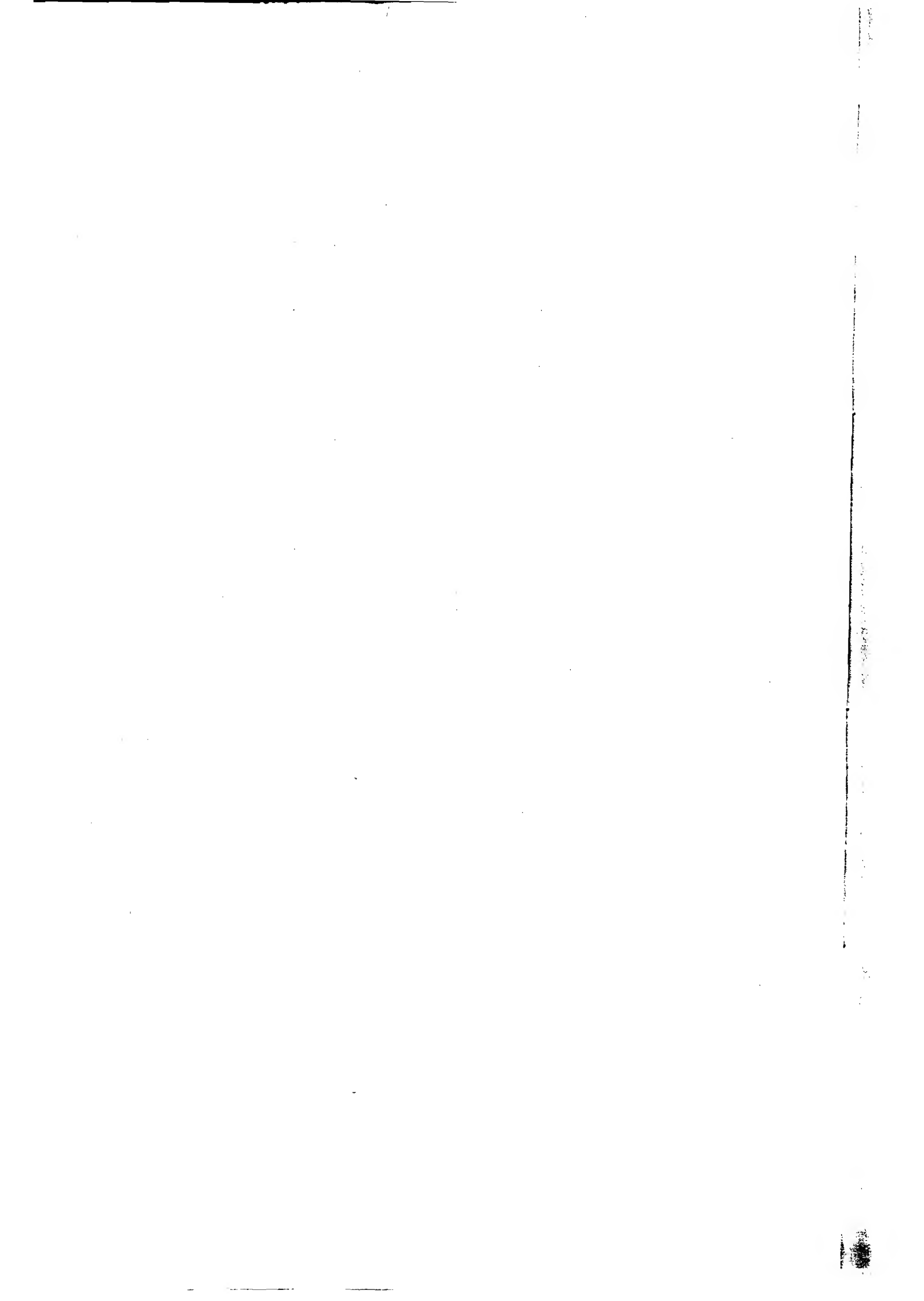
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## CONTENTS

Foreword	1
Introduction	5
Part One. Traditions and Innovations	1
1. Administrative System	3
2. Judicial Administration	8
3. State Taxes	10
4. Agrarian Relations	12
5. Military Service	15
6. Temple Policies	19
7. Cultural and Ideological Trends	20
8. Summary	21
Part Two. Iranian Names	23
Part Three. Inhabitants of the Iranian Plateau and Central Asia in Babylonia	147
1. Elamites	149
2. Medes	153
3. Persians	156
4. Sakai	159
5. Areians	162
6. Choresmians	164
7. Other Eastern Iranians and Indians	165
8. Religious Pluralism and Cultural Contacts	166
9. Legal and Social Status of Iranians and Other Ethnic Minorities in Babylonia	169
Abbreviations	179
Works Cited	191
Indices	
Passages Cited	193
Old Iranian Names	200
Old Iranian Toponyms	202
Old Iranian Words	202
Babylonian Equivalents of Iranian Words	203
Other Akkadian Words	204
Words in Other Languages	204
People	205
Places	218
General Subjects	221



## Foreword

Dr. Muhammad Dandamayev, the head of the Ancient Oriental Department at the Oriental Institute of St. Petersburg was invited by the Center for Iranian Studies, Columbia University, to give the lecture series on Iranian Studies for 1988. It is with great pleasure that the Center is now publishes these lectures.

Dr. Dandamayev was born in 1928 in Daghestan in Caucasia. He was educated in Leningrad and at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences in Moscow. Since 1959 he has been at the Oriental Institute in St. Petersburg, where he earned his doctorate in 1975. An Assyriologist specializing in later Babylonian and Achaemenid history, he is a consulting editor to the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, a member of the editorial boards of *Vestnik drevnej istorii* and *Iranica Antiqua*, and an honorary member of the American Oriental Society.

He has written scores of articles and several books:

*Iran under the Early Achaemenids* (Russian ed.: Moscow, 1963; Persian ed.: Tehran, 1973; German ed.: Wiesbaden, 1976)

*Neo-Babylonian Scribes* (Russian ed.: Moscow, 1983)

*Slavery in Babylonia* (Russian ed.: Moscow, 1974; rev. Eng. ed.: DeKalb, Ill., 1984)

*The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran* (with V. G. Lukonin; Russian ed.: 1980; English ed.: Cambridge, 1989); Spanish ed.: Barcelona, 1991)

*A Political History of the Achaemenid Empire* (Moscow, 1985; rev. English ed.: Leiden, 1989)

Dr. Dandamayev brings his wealth of knowledge of Babylonian documents to bear on the history and culture of Achaemenid Babylonia. This book is designed to make the benefit of his scholarship more easily available to students and scholars in the West.

Ehsan Yarshater



## *Introduction*

Close commercial, political, and cultural contacts between Iran and Mesopotamia were already established at the dawn of civilization. Elam, the most ancient state on the territory of Iran, was inseparably linked with Sumer, Babylonia, and Assyria during all periods of its existence. For many centuries, the Assyrians fought the Median tribes until they were finally defeated by an alliance of the Medes and the Babylonians. Contacts between Iran and Mesopotamia became particularly intense after 539 B.C.E., when Babylonia was conquered by the Persians and thus became a component part and the economic center of the enormous united Achaemenid world culture, the borders of which extended from north-western India in the east to the Aegean Sea in the west, and from Armenia in the north to the First Cataract of the Nile in the south, and which included about eighty nations and tribes.

During the two centuries of the Persian domination ancient Babylonian culture continued to develop. Under the Achaemenids Babylonian mathematical astronomy achieved a particular flowering: its successes are among the most impressive achievements of ancient civilizations. Within the same period Babylonian law reached its heyday. Considerable changes also gradually occurred in the socio-economic relations of the country.

The Persian administration in Babylonia, as well as the royal court, which spent autumn and winter in Babylon, made extensive use of the services of local scribes writing in Aramaic and Akkadian. Although the state chancelleries in Achaemenid Babylonia used Aramaic, Akkadian remained the language of religious cult and medical and mathematical literature as well as, to a certain degree, legal documents.

In Achaemenid Babylonia, along with the local population and a considerable number of Egyptians, Western Semites, and immigrants from Asia Minor and other parts of the empire, there were also many Iranians (Persians, Medes, Areians, Sakai, etc.) who were royal officials and soldiers or who came to live in the country for various reasons. These Iranians are frequently referred to in Babylonian documents as contracting parties, witnesses and officials of the royal administration. Therefore, a large number of Old Iranian proper names, official titles, legal, technical and professional terms are mentioned in Babylonian records. It can be noted in passing that Babylonian transcriptions of

Iranian words and names are usually given in their Median, not Old Persian, phonetic forms. Moreover, many of these names and words are not attested in Old Iranian texts. Therefore Babylonian documents provide valuable information and—along with Elamite, Aramaic, and other contemporary sources—enlarge our knowledge of the Old Iranian vocabulary.

The study of Babylonian documents is of particular importance because only from Mesopotamia do we have mass material of diverse sources to allow us to reconstruct socio-economic relations in all their varieties. These sources are administrative, economic, legal, and business documents, private letters, and official correspondence. They are especially abundant for the second half of the sixth through the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. Of special importance to our subject are documents of the Murašû business firm, which was based in Nippur and functioned in southern and central Babylonia. So far 622 documents of this archive have been published. They are dated in the reigns of Artaxerxes I and Darius II and were drafted in Nippur and other cities in 455–403 B.C.E. These texts mention about two hundred Iranian names. In all, about six thousand Babylonian documents of the Achaemenid period from temple and private archives have so far been published. They are written by cuneiform script in the Akkadian language. Documents of state archives were usually written on skin and have not been preserved in the Mesopotamian climate.

Achaemenid Babylonia has been the subject of studies by many scholars. At the beginning of this century G. Hüsing noted the importance of the Murašû archive for reconstructing the history of Iranians in Babylonia and for studying Old Iranian administrative terms. Of special interest for this subject are the valuable works of W. Eilers. M. W. Stolper has investigated a considerable number of Iranian words in Murašû and other Babylonian texts. During the last decade extremely valuable contributions to this study have been made by R. Zadok. In particular, he has discovered numerous Iranian names in Babylonian documents and estimated the approximate percentage of Iranians in Mesopotamia. M. Mayrhofer and R. Schmitt studied etymologies of a number of Iranian names attested in Babylonian tablets. Finally, Iranian words in Babylonian records have also been taken into consideration in publications by W. Hinz, in the *Assyrian Dictionary* of the University of Chicago, and in the *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* by W. von Soden. As for Babylonian private law and social institutions of the Achaemenid period, the monograph by G. Cardascia on the Murašû firm should be noted.

This book contains all evidence from Babylonian, biblical, classical, and Aramaic sources on individuals who bore Iranian names and lived permanently or for a period of time in Babylonia. As a rule, they were Persians, Medes, or representatives of some other Iranian tribe, though a number of these individuals were Semites or persons born of mixed marriages. The material is organized alphabetically for about 350 Iranian names with references to sources and full information concerning the persons mentioned. The determinative preceding the masculine personal names is omitted in transliterations, and the determinative for the feminine names is represented as <sup>f</sup>. The divine determinative <sup>d</sup> is indicated only for the names of Iranian gods.

General results drawn from evidence on Iranians in Babylonia will form the conclusion to the book.

The present author started his work in the field of Achaemenid Babylonia about twenty-five years ago and since that time has published a number of articles on Iranians and other aliens in Mesopotamia. His work has benefited very much from the criticism of many distinguished colleagues. Special thanks are due to Guillaume Cardascia, Igor M. Diakonoff, Israel Eph'al, Walther Hinz, Vladimir A. Livshits, Joachim Oelsner, Marvin A. Powell, Matthew W. Stolper, David B. Weisberg, and Ran Zadok for their generous criticism, important information and friendly help provided to the author during many years. Matthew W. Stolper has also supplied the author with a number of Iranian names mentioned in several still unpublished Babylonian texts. Vladimir A. Livshits made valuable comments on the manuscript, but the responsibility for errors is the author's.

A series of lectures under the title *Achaemenid Babylonia* delivered at the Center for Iranian Studies, Columbia University, in 1987 constituted an essential part of this book. It could be written and published only owing to the exceptional generosity and help of Professor Ehsan Yarshater. The author should like to express a deep gratitude to him and his colleagues at Columbia University, and especially to Dr. John Walbridge, who has edited the book and corrected its style.





*Part One*

*Traditions and Innovations*



These studies concern some of the important changes in the main social institutions, the political and economic life, and the ideology of Babylonia during the Achaemenid period.

### *1. Administrative System*

After the Persian conquest Cyrus II permitted the Babylonian kingdom to continue as a nominal entity, with its traditional methods of administration and social institutions. Nor was there any immediate interruption in the normal functioning of law and the economy. Babylon became the winter residence of the Achaemenid kings, one of the royal capitals, along with Susa, Persepolis, and Ecbatana. Even the most highly placed Babylonian officials retained their positions in the administrative apparatus. Cyrus tried to reestablish normal conditions for the economic development of the country and for its traditional culture. Priests were encouraged to revive their ancient cults, which had been somewhat neglected during the rule of the last Chaldean king, Nabonidus. Cyrus assumed the official title "King of Babylon, King of the Lands," a practice emulated by his successors until the early years of Xerxes' reign. Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit, Babylonian governor of the country under Nabonidus, continued in his post for the first four years after the Persian conquest. But in 535 B.C. Cyrus combined Mesopotamia and "Across-the-River" (i.e., Syria) in a single province and appointed as governor the Persian Gubāru, who remained in this post until at least as late as 525.

At the beginning of his reign Darius I undertook a significant reorganization of the satrapies. In particular, around March 520 B.C. a Persian, Uštānu by name, was appointed governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River. The tablets referring to him as satrap of the province belong to the period between 520 and 516 B.C. (cf. Eph'al, p. 154).

The Babylonian documents also contain references to a certain Tattannu, who was appointed satrap of Across-the-River. The same person is mentioned as Tattenai in the Book of Ezra (5:3, 5:6, 6:6, 6:13). The name is Semitic, and, in all probability, this official was an Aramean or Babylonian. It seems that Tattannu was subordinate to Uštānu. In the promissory note VAS 4, 152, drafted at Babylon in 502 B.C., a certain Bēl-ēteranni, a slave of Tattannu, governor of Across-the-River, is listed among the witnesses. In Olmstead's opinion, the presence of Bēl-ēteranni when this tablet was drafted can be explained by the fact that Tattannu had sent his slave with a message to his superior Uštānu in Babylon (Olmstead, p. 46). In that case, however, this slave would hardly have been mentioned among witnesses, who were usually permanent residents at Babylon. It is more probable that Tattannu owned land in Babylonia, where some of his dependents lived, for such land was later in the hands of some of his descendants. The documents TMH 2/3, nos. 173-77, record rent payments due on land located at Bīt-eššu and belonging to a certain Nabû-šar-ušur, son of Tattannu, in 470 B.C. Another document (VAS 3, 191), drafted in 433 B.C., mentions two slaves belonging to Napsannu, son of Tattannu.

Sometime after 486 B.C. the enormous satrapy comprising almost all the territory of the former Neo-Babylonian empire was again divided into two parts (on the date see Stolper 1989, pp. 288-93). In the list of the satrapies of the Achaemenid empire provided by Herodotus (3, 91-92) Babylonia and "the rest of Assyria" constituted the ninth satrapy, whereas the lands beyond the Euphrates constituted the fifth. Important changes in the political status of Babylonia occurred during the reign of Xerxes when the Babylonians revolted twice, in 484 and 482 B.C. Xerxes punished the rebels severely and ordered a considerable part of Babylon destroyed. The Babylonian kingdom, which until that time had been considered separate, at least in theory, was downgraded to an ordinary satrapy. Subsequently, however, Babylon did regain some of its previous economic importance, and it remained a royal residence throughout. After the downfall of Babylon, Nippur apparently became the most important city in Mesopotamia. Oppenheim has even assumed that it was the economic capital of the satrapy called *Māt Akkadī*, i.e., Babylonia (Oppenheim 1985, pp. 577, 579).

The most important practical result of the Persian conquest of Mesopotamia was thus that the supreme power in the country belonged to the Persian king and his satrap. The administrative structure of the Achaemenid empire most closely resembled that of the Neo-Assyrians. The Persians almost certainly borrowed some elements of that structure through the Medes. The governor of the country was called *bēl pehāni* or simply *pēhātu*, the same title that was borne by Gubāru and Uštānu, the Persian governors of Babylonia and Across-the-River in the second half of the sixth century, and by another Gubāru, who was Persian governor of Babylonia (*Māt Akkadī*) in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. It was, however, also frequently borne by administrators of relatively small districts. The terms *šaknu ša māti* and *paqdu ša māti* were synonyms for the title *bēl pehāni*.

The Babylonian satrapy was divided into provinces, each headed by a Persian or local official with the Babylonian title *paqdu*. The administrators of cities were also called *paqdu* or *šākin tēmi* ("chief of order," i.e., chancellor). The title *šaknu*, which earlier had designated Assyrian governors in Babylonia, in the Achaemenid period was usually applied to the overseers of various professional, military, or ethnic groups that were dependent on the royal administration. The governors of the city of Nippur in the Achaemenid period were, however, sometimes also called *šaknu* (cf. Stolper 1988, p. 141).

Although local Babylonian administrative traditions were not initially interrupted after the Persian conquest, significant changes were gradually introduced both in the administrative system itself and in the terms used to designate officials. These changes were apparently connected with important reforms by Darius, as a result of which an essentially new administrative system was created; it then remained basically unchanged until the end of the Achaemenid period. Moreover, after these reforms Persians were dominant in the state apparatus, and the most important military and civil posts were all in Persian hands. Nevertheless, governors of cities and judges in Mesopotamia were usually Babylonians, and other, inferior posts were often held by representatives of other nations (Elamites, Egyptians, Jews, etc.).

The Old Iranian administrative, legal, and other terms, which appeared gradually in Babylonian documents, reflected to a certain

degree the changes that had occurred in the administrative and social structure of the country.

Let us begin the examination of such terms in the administrative vocabulary with the word *ahšad(a)rapannu*, which is the Babylonian transcription of the Old Persian title *xšaça-pāvan-* (literally "guardian of the kingdom"), rendered by the Greeks as *satrapēs*. The term is attested in three Murašû documents from Nippur drafted in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. It is clear from two of them that people could appeal to a satrap in connection with various criminal actions (PBS 2/I, 21 and EEMA 109). To judge from the third (PBS 2/I, 2) a rental payment incumbent upon some land belonging to royal workmen (*gardu*) was made as a result of the written order of the satrap, who was at the same time the foreman of these workmen and bore a Babylonian name and patronymic (*Šihā'*, son of *Ḥašdaja*). He could hardly have been governor of Babylonia, as it seems quite improbable that such a high-ranking official could at the same time have held the low-ranking post of foreman of the royal workmen in Nippur or its region. It is known from various sources that the title "satrap" was borne not only by governors of major administrative districts but also by chiefs of small regions. It can therefore be assumed that *Šihā'* was governor only of the city of Nippur (cf., however, Stolper in EEMA, p. 94). In BRM 2, 56, the title "satrap" seems to have designated the governor of Uruk. This document comes from the archives of the Eanna temple in Uruk and belongs to the Hellenistic period. Finally, in ROMCT 2, 48, the satrap *Bēlšunu* is mentioned: he is probably to be identified as Belesys, the ruler of Syria mentioned by Xenophon in *Anabasis* (1, 4, 10). In other Babylonian texts he is called "governor of Babylon" (*peḥāt Bābili*). Stolper has already noted that this individual was a district governor at Babylon in the period between 421 and 414 B.C.: in 407–401 and perhaps for a longer period he was governor of Across-the-River (Stolper 1987, p. 392).

Babylonian texts also include two Iranian words that designated governors of cities. One of them is *umarzanapāta*, the Babylonian transcription of Old Persian *vardana-pāti* "chief of the city" (AHw, p. 1447). This title is attested only in the letter CT 22, 73, sent by a certain Puršû to a person whose name has been destroyed. The letter contains

the instruction that some people should deliver a certain quantity of barley. In order to ensure that they did so, the addressee was to inform the manager of a temple and "the governor of the city," Iddin-Nergal (a typical Babylonian name).

The second Iranian title designating a city governor was *u/appa/udētu*, which is attested for the first time in a document probably drafted in the seventh regnal year of Cambyses, i.e., 523 B.C. (Pinches 1891/92, p. 134). In it is recorded the sale of two slaves in the presence of a certain Umar'mira', who bore the title "*uppadētu* of the country Ḫumadēšu," which was located in the region of Persepolis. The same term is attested in several other Babylonian texts, where it refers to city governors (see below, s.v. Umar'mira'). It is possible that the title LÚ *padī* is also to be connected with LÚ *uppadētu* (cf. below, s.v. *Bagamišu*). In Zadok's opinion this title could be a rendering of Old Iranian \**pati-*, perhaps the forerunner of Armenian *pet*, "master" (Zadok 1984a, p. 35).

Other Iranian terms for various administrative officials are mentioned in the Babylonian tablets: for example, *arazapanata*, *ustarbaru*, and *uštiāmu*. The title LÚ *arazapanata* occurs twice in the undated document TCL 13, 218; it is probably the Old Iranian word \**arazapanta-* (from *harəz-* "to send" and *pantay-*, "road"), meaning "sent on the road," i.e., "messenger." *Ustarbaru* (\**vistar-bara-*) designated members of the security police (Eilers in IBKU, pp. 81ff.), and *uštiāmu* probably referred to "translator-scribes" (Stolper in EEMA, p. 22).

Let us also mention here a few titles designating officials of the financial agency. In five legal and business documents dated in the reign of Darius I the titles LÚ *rab-kāširi*, a Babylonian word, and *ganzabāru*, its Iranian equivalent, are synonyms meaning "treasurer" (see below s.v. *Bagasaru a*). The word *gitepatu* was borrowed from the Old Persian \**gaiθāpati-* with the original meaning "overseer of livestock." The word is used in this sense in the form *gi-sa-bat-ti-iš* in an Elamite document from Persepolis. According to this text, a Persian official who bore this title was ordered by Darius I to issue one hundred sheep to the queen Irtāšduna (Cameron, pp. 214ff.). In Babylonian texts this word is attested only in BE 10, 101 which records the payment of

fifteen minas of silver in Nippur in 419 B.C. as a state tax due on fifteen bow-fiefs (i.e., fiefs carrying the obligations of furnishing one archer each; cf. p. 16 below) which were under administration of a Persian prince. A Babylonian, Nabû-itannu by name, who bore the title LU *gi-te-pa-tu* is listed among witnesses of this payment, and his seal is attached to the tablet. As Torrey has shown, the medieval Arabic *jihbidh*, "assayer, financier" goes back to the Old Persian \**gaiθāpati*- (Torrey, pp. 295ff.). To judge from the context of BE 10, 101, which deals with payment of royal tax in silver, still by the end of the fifth century B.C. the word under consideration was used to designate a financial official who assayed silver being paid as tax to the royal treasury, and thus this term had already lost its original meaning "overseer of livestock." One more word can be mentioned in passing here. This is the Old Iranian title *hamāarakara*-, "bookkeeper, accountant," which frequently appears in Babylonian texts (CAD H, pp. 59f.).

## 2. Judicial Administration

In contrast to the administrative system partly created by the Persians, Babylonian private law did not change substantially under the Achaemenids, and traditional formulae continued to be used though many public institutions gradually fell under Iranian influence. In particular, as a result of the administrative reform of Darius I some changes also occurred in Babylonian private law. Besides, many Persians and other Iranians were more and more participating in Babylonian business life.

The supreme judicial power in the country belonged to the satrap, and decisions on the most important cases were made by royal judges. Under the Achaemenids the centuries-old rivalry between the royal court and popular assemblies of Babylonian cities ended ultimately in the defeat of the assemblies, and only property disputes and private offenses of a local nature were now subject to their jurisdiction. Judges of Iranian origin (most probably, Persians) appeared in Babylonia as early as the reign of Darius I (e. g., Ummadātu, son of Udunātu in TCL 13, 193, etc.). Judges of Iranian origin are referred to in many documents of the



Murašû archive from Nippur dating from the second half of the fifth century B.C. They bore the title "judge of the Sîn canal district." One of them was Ḫadbaga'/Adabaga', son of Mizdaešu (BE 9, 12, etc.). Two other Iranians (Ištābuzana' and Uṃardāta) together with a Babylonian, Bēlšunu by name, with the same title are mentioned in several dozen documents from Nippur (Eilers in IBKU, p. 6, n. 3).

Beginning with the reign of Darius I, a number of Iranian legal terms are attested in Babylonian documents. The word *dāta* should be mentioned first. This is a loan word deriving from the Old Persian *dāta*-, "law." A derivative of *dāta* is *dātabara* (the second part of the word is also Iranian, i.e., "bearer of law") which, in all probability, meant "judge" (see below s.v. Artarēme). In Babylonian documents of the second half of the fifth century B.C. and later periods four individuals bearing this title are referred to, and while one of them had the Iranian name Zamaspa, the others bore typically Babylonian names.

The next two legal terms are also Iranian. *Iprasakku*, in the opinion of Eilers, comes from the Old Iranian \**fras*-, "to judge," "to punish" (IBKU, p. 16; cf. Stolper in EEMA, p. 31, n. 116). Schmid had assumed that this title is an abbreviated form from \**frasakara*-, "investigator" (W. P. Schmid *apud* Hinz in ASN, p. 97). In all probability, these officials were judicial investigators. The word is attested also in Elamite (*pīr-ra-iš-šá-ik-qa*) and in Aramaic (*prskk*) sources (Hinz in ASN, p. 97). The document TMH 2/3, 147 was drafted in a suburb of Nippur in 420 B.C. "before Bēl-bulissu, *iprasakku* of the chief steward of the royal household" (LÚ *abarakku*). According to this text, Rīmūt-Ninurta, a member of the Murašû firm, appealed to Libluṭ, collector of rent in the Sîn canal district, asking him to lease some canals and fields belonging to the king to the Murašû house for three years. PBS 2/I, 198 is a document which records payment of royal taxes due on some bow-fiefs in 423 B.C. The text mentions as witnesses three men with typical Babylonian names bearing the title *iprasakku*. Thus, all four *iprasakku* known to us were Babylonians, and the title itself was apparently of a rather low position.

The next legal term is *mitiprāsu*. Until recently the word has been read *patparāsu* (the sign BE has, among others, the meanings *pāt* and *mit*) as a derivative from the Old Persian \**patifrāsa*-, known from

Aramaic papyri and designating an official of judicial administration. However, McEwan has published a document where the title is spelled in the form LU *mi-it-ip-ra-su* (ROMCT 2, 36:17). According to Zadok, the word could also be read as *mi-id-ip-ra-zu* and possibly renders the Old Iranian \**vīda-frāsa-*, "interrogator" (Zadok 1983c, p. 218). All the officials who are mentioned with this title have Babylonian names, and therefore were apparently rather insignificant civil servants.

### 3. State Taxes

One of the reforms of Darius I established a new system of state taxes. Before Darius I, under Cyrus and Cambyses, there was still no firmly regulated system of taxes based on an accounting of the economic potentials of the countries of the Persian empire. According to Darius' reforms, all satrapies were obliged to pay monetary taxes in silver, the amount being determined on the basis of the area of cultivated land and its fertility as calculated in accordance with the mean perennial yield. For this purpose the land was precisely measured and classified by crop. However, the question arises, when was this reform introduced? To judge from Herodotus (3, 89), Darius' reforms were introduced at the beginning of his rule, when he had quelled the revolts in the Persian empire which occurred in 522–21 B.C. Scholars have found no other evidence to help us date Darius' reforms.

There have been preserved late Babylonian field plans, which are usually depicted as rectangles or triangles and contain information about seed capacity, the number of date palms, legal status of the land and the buildings erected on the fields. However, the functions of these plans have never been satisfactorily explained. According to Nemet-Nejat, the editor of the plans, they were graphic representations of warranty deeds and could be used as a basis for drawing up warranty deeds, or they represented separate tablets, necessary for the full documentation of the transaction (LBFP, pp. 312ff.). This is not very convincing, however, since information on borders and area are given in economic documents recording the sale of land. Besides, land was also sold long before the Persian conquest of Mesopotamia, but field plans containing the number

of fruit trees, the kind of crop, the state of tilth of the land appear beginning only with the third year of Darius I's rule. It seems to me that these plans might be connected with the reforms of Darius, and the tablets themselves are cadastral documents. If so, the reforms of Darius can be dated around the year 519 B.C., i.e., the third regnal year of this king (in more detail Dandamayev 1985, col. 27ff.).

Some other evidence has also been preserved regarding land registration. For instance, a document from the Murašû archive, drafted at Nippur in 445 B.C., deals with a dispute over the ownership of a house. The claimant declared: "This property is mine. It was written for me in the *kalammarî* of the king in the 22nd year of Darius" (Stolper 1976, pp. 192ff.). The case was considered before the assembly of the citizens of Nippur. As Stolper has shown, the word *kalammarî* means register of property. It also occurs in Elamite texts from Persepolis in the form *karamaraš* (Stolper 1976, pp. 195ff.).

Babylonia was one of the richest satrapies of the Achaemenid empire and beginning with the time of Darius' reforms paid monetary taxes of 1000 talents (ca. 300 tons) of silver annually. (The total monetary taxes from all the conquered countries was 7740 talents). The population of Babylonia also paid tribute in kind (grain, cattle, sheep, beer, etc.), but, it is difficult to establish its whole sum for the country. This tribute in kind was destined to support garrisons, the royal and satrapal courts, and the state administration.

Two Old Iranian terms designating royal taxes are attested in Babylonian documents. One of them is *uppajātu*, the exact meaning of which is unknown. It has been discussed in detail by Stolper, who thinks it is an Old Iranian word from *\*upa-jāta*, "bye-portion" (with a reference to MacKenzie, p. 610). The same word is also frequently attested in Persepolis Fortification tablets in the phrase (*ukpiyataš sunkina*, i. e., "ukpiyataš of the king." In Babylonia it occurs in two documents dated in the reign of Darius I. As seen from these tablets, *uppajātu* meant a royal impost paid in commodities (Stolper 1977, pp. 254ff.; cf. also Hinz in ASN, pp. 245f.).

The second term for taxes is *bāru*. In the Murašû documents it occurs regularly designating a certain kind of tax for the king due on fief allotments (see for references ASN, p. 63). In other Babylonian texts

this word occurs only in UET 4, 48 and 49 (*ba-a-ri*). Both documents come from the city of Ur and were drafted in 399 B.C. They record the hire of two boys in order to carry *bāri* (tax or gifts) of the temple slaves during the ceremony of entering of the king Artaxerxes II into Susa (cf. Joannès 1988, pp. 1f.). This is an Old Persian word from *bār-*, "to bear," but it is difficult to determine its meaning more precisely.

Until recent time the common opinion of scholars has been that after the reforms of Darius, money coming in as state taxes found its way into the royal treasury and was withdrawn from circulation for many decades and that for this reason there was insufficient silver for trade in Babylonia, which severely hindered the development of its money-commodity relations. However, now Stolper and some other scholars now believe that Babylonian documents show no shortage of money in the country (Stolper in EEMA, pp. 143ff.).

#### 4. Agrarian Relations

As Stolper has noted, archaeological evidence shows that in most areas of Mesopotamia the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods mark the beginning of "a long phase of general growth, the resettlement and cultivation of long-abandoned territory." In the fifth century B.C. there was much cheap land, but water was costly (EEMA, pp. 125ff., 133). Oppenheim has shown that in Achaemenid Babylonia there appeared "new installations, new techniques, better utilization of the available water" (Oppenheim 1985, p. 578).

The economic history of Babylonia in the second part of the fifth century B.C. is relatively well-known to us owing to the Murašû archive. The activities of the Murašû firm were conditioned by the changes introduced by the Persians into property policies in Babylonia. The land was divided into allotments and given to Persian nobles, to collectives of soldiers, and to officials who were not farmers themselves and therefore turned their land over to the other persons to cultivate. The house of Murašû rented these allotments and paid rent to their owners as well as the appropriate state taxes to the treasury. However, this land was usually let by the Murašû firm to a sublessee, who was

supplied with draft animals and irrigation. To judge from the Murašû documents, rental payments for land were very low, about one *kur* (180 liters) of barley per *kur* (13,500 square meters) of land or less (Stolper in EEMA, p. 127).

Land constituted the main source of royal taxes. However, there existed two categories of land which were not liable to impost. The Achaemenids took part of land from the Babylonian population and kept some for the crown and distributed the rest as large estates to members of the royal family, representatives of the Persian nobility, and high officials.

Part of the land belonged to the king (*equlzêru ša šarri*): the total area of royal lands under the Achaemenids had increased much as compared with the preceding period. These lands were situated in the Nippur region, as well as in the neighborhood of Babylon, Sippar, Ur, Dilbat, and other Mesopotamian cities. These and other lands belonging to members of the royal family usually were put out on lease. Thus, in a contract dated 420 B.C., a representative of the Murašû firm rented royal fields along the banks of several canals near Nippur for a term of three years. The Murašû house undertook to pay an annual rent of 220 *kur* (39,600 liters) of barley, 20 *kur* (3,600 liters) of wheat, 10 *kur* (1,800 liters) of spelt, etc. (TMH 2/3, 147). According to ROMCT 2, 23, in 507 B.C. two tenants paid nine *kur* (1,600 liters) of dates as annual rent for some land that was royal property. This payment was made through a certain Silim-Bêl, the superintendent of the royal dates. The next year the same Silim-Bêl was paid thirty-six *kur* (6,480 liters) of dates for rent due the king (ROMCT 2, 24). This land was located, in all probability, in a suburb of the city of Isin.

The king also owned many large canals, which his managers leased out for high prices. In the neighborhood of Nippur the royal canals were rented by the Murašû house who, in their turn, leased them to groups of small landowners (cf. Stolper in EEMA, pp. 130ff.). Thus, in 439 B.C. seven landowners in the Nippur area signed a contract with three renters of the king's canal, among whom was the Murašû house. According to this contract, the landowners could irrigate their fields during three days of each month from "the water of the canal—the royal property." They were to pay one-third of the harvest and dates in

addition to a certain sum of silver for each *kur* of land (BE 9, 7). Two Murašû documents mention "the king's harvest" (*ebûru ša šarri*) paid through the canal inspector as "king's share" for use of canals (PBS 2/I, 32 and 59).

In addition to lands that were the personal property of the king, there were also various types of crown property, the character of which is not always sufficiently clear. The "*uzbaru*-fields" or "*uzbaru* of the king" were also royal land. This is an Old Iranian word (*\*uzbarya*) the exact meaning of which is unknown. In Nîsa ostraca it designates lands, chiefly vineyards, which were in the outright possession of the king but given to the management of the satrap. Stolper assumes that in the Murašû documents this word should be translated "crown land" (EEMA, p. 42). The *uzbaru*-lands were located along the banks of royal canals, were sown with cereals, and were rented out—in the Nippur region in the second half of the fifth century to the Murašû house. It goes without saying that all these categories of royal lands were exempt from taxes.

The redistribution of land effected by the Achaemenids resulted in the appearance of different types of fiefs belonging to royal soldiers, artisans, etc. These fiefs were also allotted from state land. It seems that there was some difference between the royal land in the narrowest sense and state land. However, state land, at least nominally, was at the disposal of the king.

In the period preceding the Persian conquest of Babylonia, the royal economy had not occupied a large share of the economy of the country. Though the Achaemenid kings possessed a large amount of land in Babylonia, even in the Persian period the royal economy did not play the leading role in the country. This role belonged to the private and temple households. In the first millennium B.C. an enormous royal economy would have been an anomalous phenomenon.

Babylonian documents also refer frequently to estates of members of the Persian king's family and the Persian nobility. These lands were also exempt from taxes. According to Zadok's study, twenty-five manors located in the Nippur region did not pay royal taxes. This number includes the manors of the queen Parysatis and twelve princes mentioned in the Murašû archive and the lands that belonged to other

members of the royal family (Zadok 1977, pp. 108f.). In 420 B.C. the Murašû house paid 294 *kur* (5,2920 liters) of barley (BE 10, 95) and 270 *kur* (48,600 liters) of dates (PBS 2/I, 202) as rent for land in the Nippur region belonging to a Persian crown prince (*bīt mār šarri*) not mentioned by the name. The manager of these estates was a Babylonian. This crown prince, son of Darius II, was either Artaxerxes II or Cyrus the Younger. The estate also included bow-fiefs which constituted a special *ḥaṭru* (cf. below) of the house of the crown prince. Thus, at least a portion of the crown prince's estate was parcelled out in bow-fiefs which were taxable (Stolper in EEMA, pp. 54f.). Another document (PBS 2/I, 133) records the payment in Nippur in 417 B.C. of a royal tax (*ilku*) of silver, beer, sheep, flour, and barley due on "the bow lands of the *ḥaṭru* of the swordbearers (LU *ṭabiḥē*) of the crown prince's estate." These lands were also rented out to the Murašû firm. It might seem from this and other analogous documents that the Persian nobility paid royal taxes upon their lands (Stolper in EEMA, p. 168). It seems to me, however, that such a conclusion would be erroneous. The nobility paid royal taxes not for their own lands but for the lands which belonged to groups of population dependent on the royal administration but which were kept under the authority of the Persian nobles.

### 5. Military Service

The reforms of Darius I increased the number of troops recruited, but it is difficult to determine in detail all aspects of his military reform since we know very little about how soldiers were recruited in Chaldean Babylonia.

A number of Babylonian documents dated in the reign of Darius I deal with recruiting soldiers who were obliged to acquire military equipment and food from their own means (Dar. 164, 253, 308, 400, etc.). However, such a form of military service already existed in the Chaldean times, and in this aspect at least nothing changed under the early Achaemenids (including Darius I's reign). For instance, according to Nbn. 103, drafted in Šaḥrinu (a suburb of Babylon) in the third regnal year of Nabonidus, a certain Nabû-apla-iddin and his mother took a loan

of one mina of silver from a creditor on security of their field. The document says that the silver was destined "for outfitting of soldiers of the Babylonian king" (*riqis qabli*; cf. its Iranian equivalent *pasa'du* in VAS 4, 126). The latter document, drafted in Sippar, records that a woman paid twenty shekels of silver to a chief of the archers as her son's *aes militare* in order to carry out royal service in the ninth regnal year of Darius I (513 B.C.; see in more detail Dandamayev 1989, pp. 563ff.).

Despite preservation of some previous elements in the system of military service, considerable changes occurred in recruitment of soldiers in the Achaemenid period. It is well known that in Babylonia under the Achaemenids there existed different types of holdings designated as bow fief, charioteer's fief, cavalry fief, and so on. These fiefs were granted by the royal administration on the obligation to carry out military service as bowmen, charioteers, and cavalrymen. These soldiers were Babylonians, Carians, Lydians, Sakai, and representatives of many other nations of the Persian empire. Such fiefs (at least, bow fiefs and cavalry fiefs) existed at the beginning of Cambyses' reign and, in all probability, were introduced by the Persian administration soon after the conquest of Babylonia (Camb. 13, 85; VAS 5, 52 drafted in Sippar and Babylon during the reign of Cambyses).

In the document VAS 3, 55 drafted at Sippar in 523 B.C., the expression *bīt as-pa-tum* is attested. As seen from the text, a field belonging to the king (*makkūr šarri*) was granted to a certain Ili-aqabi as a fief. Cardascia has already noted that *bīt aspātum* is a partly equivalent of the Babylonian *bīt sīsē*, i.e., "cavalry fief" (Cardascia, p. 8, n. 7). It seems to me that *aspātum* is a derivative of the Old Iranian *aspa-*, "horse," and *-ātu* is the Akkadian suffix for plural, i.e., the fief of horseman, "cavalry fief."

From the word *aspa-* originates also *aspastu*. In the opinion of Zimmern, this is the Old Iranian word for alfalfa. *asp-ast*, "fodder for horses." This scholar has assumed that the Babylonians had borrowed the word from the Iranians as well as alfalfa itself (Zimmern, p. 56). However, the compilers of the CAD (A/II, pp. 338f.) reject such an explanation because the word *aspastu* is used long before the Achaemenid period in a list of plants in a royal garden at the time of



Merodach-Baladan II, (721-10 B.C.; see CT 14, 50). However, it seems to me that this word could have been borrowed by the Assyrians from the Medes in early times, when the Assyrians began to create their cavalry after the example of the Medes. Moreover, the word itself is attested precisely in the Median form *aspa-* "horse" which corresponds to the Old Persian *asa-* with the same meaning (cf. Mayrhofer, pp. 166 and 168, n. 16). Thus the Babylonians borrowed this word from the Assyrians.

The totality of various fiefs was called *ḥaṭru*. The institution of *ḥaṭru* has been studied in detail by Cardascia and Stolper (Cardascia, pp. 7f., 29f., 102f.; EEMA, pp. 71ff.). It was a system of fiefs granted in the name of the king to a group of soldiers or civilians. Along with *ḥaṭru* of military colonists (e. g. Phrygians, Carians, etc.), there were *ḥaṭru* of artisans united by their professions (carpenters, tanners, boatmen, etc.), officials (scribe-interpreters), merchants, and workmen attached to the estates belonging to the king and Persian nobility (*gardu*, *šušānu*). Naturally, these groups existed alongside artisans, merchants, etc., who were not dependent on the royal administration. Almost all our information (more than two hundred tablets) regarding *ḥaṭru* comes from the Murašû archive where sixty-seven *ḥaṭrus* are referred to. As seen from the Murašû documents, a considerable garrison was located in Nippur and its neighborhood in the second part of the fifth century B.C.

It is possible that the system of fiefs was more typical of the Nippur region than of the rest of Babylonia. It is also probable that after suppressing Babylonian revolts in 484 and 482 B.C., the Persian king Xerxes confiscated large tracts of land in the Nippur region, turning them into state land and granting some of this land as fiefs to his soldiers. Nevertheless, the *ḥaṭru* organization was established not in this period but much earlier. Its separate elements (allotments of bow and horse) began to form as early as Cambyses' reign. It is also very probable that the entire Achaemenid system of land tenure connected with military service had been borrowed from seventh century Assyria via the Medes (cf. Postgate, p. 75). The word *ḥaṭru* is attested for the first time in a document dated in the reign of Nabonidus and probably written in Uruk (Beaulieu, pp. 37ff.). To judge from the context, it

originally meant "enclosure" and apparently its real meaning changed during the Achaemenid period.

Holders of fiefs could also hire replacements to perform their military service. Camb. 13, drafted in 530 B.C. in Sippar, records that two brothers who held a bow fief paid thirty-three shekels of silver to "their royal soldier," as his travel provisions. Camb. 292 records the issue of money by Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, a member of the Egibi business house in Babylon, for the equipment (*riqis qabli*) of a soldier. This soldier was to serve in the fifth year of Cambyses (525 B.C.) as a replacement for the man who had paid him. According to Dar. 156, a certain Bēl-iddin received twenty-five shekels of silver from another person for outfitting in order to carry out military service for the king. From a promissory note drafted at Babylon in 522 B.C. (VAS 4, 54) we learn that this Bēl-iddin, son of Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, descendant of Balāṭu, was a scribe (and the document itself was written by him).

The archive of a certain Kuṣur-Ea, son of Sīn-aḥḥē-bullit, a barber, contains valuable information regarding replacement of military service. The archive consists of seven contracts drafted over thirty-six years, between 399 and 363 B.C. According to UET 4, 109, a certain Nidintu-Sīn, son of Sīn-aḥḥē-iddin, told Kuṣur-Ea the following: "Give me money, provision and (necessary) equipment according (to the norms for those who) perform (the military duty) of citizens of Ur, and I shall go instead of you to the royal muster in the eighth year of Artaxerxes whenever the king orders, and I shall perform the order of the king whenever the king gives orders regarding you." Kuṣur-Ea accepted this offer and "gave money, provision (and) all equipment according (to the norms) of those who carry out the duty of citizens of Ur to the royal muster." The Old Iranian word *andēsu* (from \**handaisa*) is used for "muster" (CAD A/II, p. 113). The document was drafted in Ur in the same eighth regnal year of Artaxerxes, 397 B.C. To judge from UET 4, 106, drafted in 363 B.C., Kuṣur-Ea was liable for military service because he, along with four other men, owned a bow fief (*bīr qašii*) by the bank of a canal. He and his co-proprietors did not cultivate the land themselves but rented it out, as is recorded in UET 4, 44. The contract was drawn in 372 B.C. for a period of four years.

UET 4, 57 shows that by profession Kuṣur-Ea was not a soldier but

a barber in the temple of the city of Ur. The document, drafted in 396 B.C. in Ur, records that five barbers listed by their names, including Kuşur-Ea, were obliged to perform the obligations of barbers to some persons who suffered from leprosy. Thus, Kuşur-Ea was a member of the temple community of Ur, being a holder of the office of barber. His bow fief, with its obligation to serve as an archer, could not have been granted to him by the royal administration since he was not a soldier. In all probability, he became the owner of the allotment under the guise of adoption by an insolvent debtor who was a royal soldier, for as a rule, the alienation of such fiefs was not permitted. However, it seems that in the later Achaemenid period fiefs could even be sold with the consent of the royal administration (Joannès in *TEBR*, pp. 94ff.). Thus Kuşur-Ea, together with some other persons, may have bought his fief. They hired a soldier to carry out military service incumbent on the fief and rented out the land itself.

### *6. Temple Policies*

Significant changes took place in temple policies in Babylonia during the Achaemenid period. First, in contrast to the Chaldean kings, the Achaemenids did not pay annual tithes to the Babylonian temples, although they retained the tithe as an obligatory tax for their subjects. Furthermore, while the kings of the Chaldean dynasty rarely interfered in temple affairs and the temple contribution to the state revenue was insignificant, under the Achaemenids the Babylonian temples were obliged to pay considerable taxes in kind of sheep and cattle, barley, sesame, beer, etc., as well as to supply the provisions of government officials.

The temples also performed state duties by sending their slaves (agricultural workmen, herders, gardeners, carpenters, etc.) to work on the palace estates in Babylon and in other cities. Royal commissioners and fiscal agents saw to the prompt and exact payment of state taxes and to the performance of duties by the temples. The supervision of temple property was also transferred to the hands of royal officials, who often arranged inspection of this property. Royal officials regularly checked

the work of the temple slaves who had been sent to carry out state duties (cf. below s.v. "Gubāru *b*" and "Pamaka *a*"). For example, a number of Babylonian documents show that the Ebabbarra temple in Sippar and the Eanna temple in Uruk were ordered by the Persian administration to send their workmen to set out royal "paradises" (*pardēsu*) near Sippar and Uruk during the rule of Cyrus and Cambyses (CT 22, 198; Cyr. 212; YOS 3, 133; cf. also Michigan Collection 89). The word *pardēsu* (*par-de-su*) is a loan-word from the Old Persian \**paridaida-* which is attested also in the Persepolis Fortification tablets in Elamite in the form of *partetaš*. The Greeks rendered the same word as *paradeisos* (for references see Hinz in ASN, p. 179).

### 7. Cultural and Ideological Trends

Achaemenid influence can be traced in Babylonian architecture as well as in the production of metal vases (Haerinck, pp. 142ff.). Thus, the Achaemenid kings built an *apadana* and other buildings in the Persian style in Babylon (Koldewey-Wetzel, p. 35). Persian influence can also be traced in the iconography of Babylonian seals, especially in the subjects and style of seals from the Murašû archive (cf. Haerinck, p. 144). But throughout the Achaemenid and later periods local traditions prevailed in temple architecture and funerary rites (Haerinck, pp. 139ff.).

The ancient culture and ideology of Babylonia continued to develop during the Achaemenid period: the Achaemenids, like rulers of other ancient states, did not try to impose their religion, culture and language upon the conquered countries. Although the Achaemenid period is characterized by syncretism of the cultures and religions of various peoples, it seems that the Babylonian culture, which had become conservative still many centuries before the Persian conquest, was not much affected by the cultures of other nations of the empire.

Thus, in final analysis, processes of cultural and ideological alterations occurring in Babylonia throughout the Achaemenid time were due to internal development and were not considerably influenced by the Persian rule. Local Babylonian culture and religion were not affected also by the Greeks during the Hellenistic period.

### *8. Summary*

As we have seen above, the Persian administration was not interested in the internal intellectual life of Babylonia. The achievements of Babylonian mathematical astronomy, whose most creative period began in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C., and the changes in Babylonian religious thought were due to the development of the native tradition. The Persians were only concerned with creating a stable state administration, establishing a new system for collecting royal taxes, and increasing the recruitment of troops.

Significant changes did occur in the administrative system of the country, and many public institutions gradually fell under Iranian influence. Many Old Iranian administrative and legal terms are attested in Babylonian documents. Persians also dominated the state apparatus and the army. Although Babylonian private law changed little, many Iranians became involved in local business life. Moreover, documents from Babylon, Nippur and some other Mesopotamian cities refer to judges of Iranian origin. Radical changes occurred in the system of agrarian relations. Land taken from the indigenous population was distributed in large tracts as hereditary property to members of the royal family and to Persian nobility. Some land was in the direct possession of the king. All these estates were exempt from taxes. The system of military service also changed. The redistribution of land by the Persian administration created different types of fiefs belonging to royal soldiers and state workmen. These fiefs were granted from state land by the royal administration and carried an obligation of military service or state corvée work.

The Babylonian temples, which had enjoyed considerable independence in the Chaldean period, became subordinate to the royal administration. They were obliged to pay considerable taxes in kind and to carry out state duties by sending their slaves to work on the palace estates.

Fundamental changes occurred also in the system of state taxes. Babylonia was obliged to pay taxes in silver. For this purpose the land

was precisely measured and classified by crop.

Under the Achaemenids, many aliens settled in Mesopotamia for various reasons. However, even during the Achaemenid period they had begun to lose their national identity and within several centuries were assimilated into the local population.

*Part Two*

*Iranian Names*





Abastānu (URU A-ba-as-ta-nu, BE 10, 64: 5; etc.). See Ibbastana'.

1. Abēsukku (fA-be-e-su-uk-ku, VAS 4, 152:2, 6, 8, 12, 14), daughter of Rīmūt. She is referred to as a creditor of 2 minas and 32 1/2 shekels of silver issued as a loan to a Babylonian in 502 B.C. As security, she was given a house in Babylon in antichresis (i.e., with the right to use the house as security for the debt). According to Zadok (1977, p. 94, with a reference to I. Gershevitch), this name can be etymologized as \*Abi-saukā-, "the shining." Her father bore a typical Babylonian name.

2. Abigni (A-bi-ig-ni, EKBK 31:13), the father of a certain Numingu (q.v.). He is mentioned in a document drafted in the town of Manahū (Zadok 1985, p. 219) in the 40th year of the reign of Artaxerxes (i. e., 425 B.C. if Artaxerxes I is meant or 365 B.C. if Artaxerxes II). According to Zadok (1977, p. 107, and n. 191), the name comes from \*Ā-bigni- and "perhaps the mountain name Bi-ig-ni/nu (AOAT 6, pp. 72f.) in Media belongs here as well." See also s.v. Arbarta.

3. Adabaga'/Hadbaga'. The name has a clear Iranian etymology: \*Hada-bāga-, "together with a share," i. e., "having a share" (ASN, p. 109; but cf. IBKU, p. 53, n. 2).

a) Ḥa-ad-ba-ga-a' LÚ *da-a-a-nu* šá ÍD dXXX (BE 9, 9:12 and L. E.); Ad-ba-ga-a' LÚ DI.KUDšáÍD dXXX (BE 9, 12:12), the son of Mizdaešu (q.v., an Iranian name) and a "judge of the Sīn canal" in the Nippur region. Two documents of the Murašû archive were drafted in his presence in 437 B.C. in the city of Nippur. One of them (BE 9, 9) is a promissory note for 432 *kur* (ca. 77,760 liters) of dates to be paid after a new yield. The second document (BE 9, 12) records the payment of 4 minas of silver as a royal tax (*ilku*).

b) A-da-ba-ga-a' (BE 9, 39:10), son of Iddin-Nabû, a witness to rent paid on a field. The document was drafted in Nippur in 431 B.C.

His father bore a Babylonian name, and apparently he was himself of Babylonian descent.

4. Adakka' (A-dak-ka-a', PBS 2/1, 77:3), father of a bow fief holder whose name has not been preserved. The document was written in Nippur in 415 B.C. According to Zadok (1976e, p. 247, n. 4), this name possibly renders the Iranian \*Ādāka- and can be compared with Avestan *ādā*- "reward." "Adaces ... (INB, p. 2b) may be the same name."

Aḥabanuš. See Aḥiamanuš.

5. Aḥiamanuš (Aḥ-ia-a-ma-nu-uš, BE 10, 84:17; 85:4, 10, and U. E.; PBS 2/1. 103:3; Aḥ-i'-ma-nu-uš, *ibid.*, 201:3). Hilprecht (BE 10, p. 38) identified this name with the Old Persian Haxāmaniš- (i.e., Greek "Achaemenes," cf. also IBKU, p. 50, n. 3). On the etymology see, e.g., Schmitt 1967, p. 120 ("Freundessinn habend").

Hinz (ASN, p. 110) assumes that this name should be read as Aḥabanuš, from \*Haxābānu- ("Freundesglanz"), but does not exclude the reading \*Haxāmanuš-, since in the late Babylonian period the signs *ma* and *ba* were written practically the same way. Zadok (1976c, pp. 66f.) holds that the late Babylonian spelling excludes the interpretation of this name as Aḥiamanuš because the Old Iranian form of Achaemenes' name ends with *-niš*. Therefore he reads the name Aḥiabanuš and, following Hinz, translates it "(he) who is the splendor of his friends." However, \*Haxābānu- is not yet attested in other sources, and it seems to me that this name can be interpreted as Haxāmaniš (cf. Stolper in EEMA, p. 66).

This Aḥiamanuš was the father of Ipradāta (q.v.). Both of them bore the title LÚ *mār bīti*. "son of the (ruling) house," i.e., prince. As Eilers (1962, pp. 55f.) has shown, *mār bīti* is a calque of the Old Iranian \**visa-puθra*-. Documents in the Murašû archive drafted in the Nippur region in the second part of the fifth century B.C. apply this title to male members of the Achaemenid family (Stolper in EEMA, p. 60; cf. Benveniste 1966, pp. 23f.). In Aramaic texts of the Achaemenid period this title is translated *bar baytā* with the same meaning (q.v. Aršāma).

BE 10, 85 records a rental payment issued in 420 B.C. for a field near Nippur belonging to Aḫiamanuš. The payment was made through his manager and consisted of 30 *kur* (5,400 liters) of barley, 1 *pān* (36 liters) of beer, 2 rams and 1 *pān* 4 *sūt* (60 liters) of flour. Among the witnesses was an official subordinate to Gubāru, satrap of Babylonia. This field was in Ḥambanāja, a locality in the Nippur region (cf. Zadok 1978, p. 308). To judge from a number of documents (e. g. BE 10, 81:4, 11; 90:4, 8; 97:2; 122:4; TMH 2/3, 145:3, 4; PBS 2/1, 220:3, etc.), lands belonging to royal soldiers ("Cimmerians" among them) and to groups dependent on the state were concentrated in particular areas. Apparently, the lands in this region were confiscated by the Achaemenid administration and granted to Persian nobility and groups of people obliged to perform military service and corvée labor as well as to pay taxes. For example, BE 10, 84, drafted the same day as the above-mentioned BE 10, 85, records the payment of rent for a field of the satrap Gubāru. One of the witnesses, Mannu-iqabi, bears the title of manager (*paqdu*) of Aḫiamanuš, while in BE 10, 85 he is called a slave (*ardu*) of the latter.

As a lessor Aḫiamanuš is mentioned only in BE 10, 85, drafted in the month of Du'ūzu in the fourth regnal year of Darius II. He probably died soon after, for in PBS 2/1, 201, written two months later, and in PBS 2/1, 103, dated in the fifth year of Darius II, the lessor of the same field was his son Ipradāta (cf. Dandamayev 1974, pp. 123ff.).

6. Aḫratuš (Aḫ-ra-tu-uš, BE 9, 74:3; Aḫ-ru-tu-uš, PBS 2/1, 122:9; Aḫ-ru-tu-uš-šú, *ibid.* 116:4). His son Bagā (q.v.) was one of the Areian holders of bow fiefs in the Nippur region in 425–418 B.C. His name originates from the Old Iranian (\*Ā-)xratu (Zadok 1977, p. 115 and n. 267, where full references to previous literature are given).

7. Aḫšetī. Eilers (1940, p. 202, n. 4) compares this name with Avestan *xšaēta* (AiWB, col. 541, q.v.); Zadok (1977, pp. 94 and 99) thinks it might be a patronymic of \**xšaita*- "illustrious."

a) Aḫ-še-ti-i' LÚ *par-sa-a-a* (VAS 6, 171:23), son of Kamakka, a "Persian." He—along with four judges with Babylonian names, two officials of the E-imbi-Anu temple in Dilbat, and some other persons—

was a witness before whom a statement was made in Dilbat during the reign of Darius I (the year has not been preserved). It records a decision regarding the claim of a certain man that two fields belonged to him and not to the king.

b) A-ḫi-še-ti-e (Ungnad 1960, p. 78, no. 28 = Amherst 253:19f.; the document has not yet been published and only a short summary of its contents is available), the son of Baga-pāta. He acted as the witness to a promissory note drafted in Babylon in 500 B.C.

c) Aḫ-še-e-tum (VAS 6, 185:23), whose son Bél-bulissu was a witness at the conditional release of a person who had appropriated a property belonging to a third person in a document drafted in 424 B.C. in Ṭabānu (probably near Borsippa). In contrast to two previous persons of Iranian descent, this Aḫšeti was possibly a Babylonian.

8. Aišaridar (A-a-šá-ri-da-ri, Ungnad 1960, p. 79, Amherst 258:19), one of the highly placed Persians sent from Susa to Borsippa to carry out a certain inspection. They were headed by Uštāni, probably the satrap of Babylonia and Syria. The document belongs to the end of the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. and records that Aišaridar was issued money for travelling expenses.

9. Alogunē, a concubine of Artaxerxes I. According to Ctesias, she was a Babylonian and the mother of Sekyndianos (Ctesias, König 1972, p. 18, no. 44). Her name, however, is Iranian (Benveniste 1966, p. 122: "au teint rouge [vermeil],") so she "could be, judging from her name, an Iranian who lived in Babylon" (Zadok 1977, p. 97).

10. Amisiri' (<sup>f</sup>A-mi-si-ri-i', BE 9, 39:2, EEMA 1:5; <sup>f</sup>Am-mi-is-ri-i', BE 10, 45:9; cf. Greek Amestris). BE 10, 45, drafted in 423 B.C. in Nippur, shows that she owned land (line 8:ŠE.NUMUN) on the bank of the Euphrates-of-Nippur canal. The document BE 9, 39 records a rental payment issued in 431 B.C. in Nippur for a field belonging to a woman named Madumītu (q.v.) "from the house of Amisiri;" (line 2: šá É <sup>f</sup>A-mi-si-ri-i'). According to EEMA 1:5, a reservoir on a canal bordering lands that belonged to the Persian king (including *uzbaru* domains) was named after her. Apparently, she was a noble Persian, possibly the wife

of Artarēmu (q.v.), whose manager administered her manor (Zadok 1978, p. 326). Hüsing assumed that she was a daughter of the queen Parysatis (Hüsing, p. 48; cf., however, Plutarch. *Artaxerxes*. 27). Oppenheim (1985, p. 577, n. 4) identified her with Amestris, the mother of Artaxerxes I. But according to Stolper (EEMA, p. 64), such an identification cannot be supported philologically, and therefore this lady "cannot be confidently identified except as a woman of property, and probably of court rank."

Ammadātu (Am-ma-da-a-tú, Dar. 435:15). See Ummadātu.

11. Anšīia (An-ši-ia LÚ *par-su-maš-a-a*, Mélanges Dussaud, p. 924:12), "a man from (the country of) Parsumaš," i.e., a Persian. In a text from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (the first quarter of the sixth century B.C.), he is mentioned as one of the foreigners who lived in Babylon and were issued provisions from royal stores. The same tablet also mentions two more men from Parsumaš, namely Bagindū and [...]-bi-ia-a'. It is possible that all of them were hostages or prisoners of war. According to Zadok (1976d, p. 66), Anšīia can be interpreted as Iranian \**Hanšya-* or \**Hanči-*, "collector."

12. Antumma' (An-tu-um-ma-a', Pinches 1891/1892, p. 134:1), son of Barzu (q.v.). He bore the titles LÚ *balma-gi-ia* LÚ *tamkāru*. The meaning of the first word, which is Iranian, is unknown, but *tamkāru* meant "merchant." The document was drafted in 523 B.C., almost certainly in Humadēšu, a city near Persepolis; it was then brought to Babylonia (Stolper 1984, pp. 306f. and n. 31). According to the text, Antumma' sold two slaves, who bore the Iranian names Ataršitra' and Ratakka', for two minas and forty shekels of silver to a certain Baga-pāta (q.v.), son of Nabû-zēr-iqīša (Zadok 1976d, pp. 68 and 74). Zadok identifies the name Antumma' as \**Han-tuhma-* from \**tux-*, "strive;" (ibid., p. 76.). V. Livshits suggested to me another etymology: "create, work," cf. Sanskrit *takṣ-* "form by cutting" (Kent, pp. 185f.).

13. Appiešu (Ap-pi-e-šú; Jakob-Rost and Freydank, p. 11, no. 1, R.:4), whose son Nabû-balāssu-iqbi rented land in Bīt-Uqūpi, near Babylon,

in 415 B.C. See Zadok 1976c, p. 67, where the name is explained from Iranian \*Āpaiča- (*āp*-, "water" and the hypocoristic suffix *-aiča*-). V. Livshits explains this name as \*Āpiča-, with hypocoristic *-iča*-.

14. Araltu (A-ra?-al-tum, ROMCT 2, 27:3). His patronymic is destroyed. He contracted to pay fifteen minas of wool in 524 B.C. in the town of Bannishaja, near Nippur. According to Zadok 1984c, p. 71, this may be the same name as that of the Neo-Assyrian A-ra-áš-tum, who was a ruler in Zamua in 880 B.C., and perhaps can be explained as Iranian \*A-rašta-, "equipped with truth" (ibid., notes 71 and 72).

Arbakka. See Arbukku.

15. Arbamiḥri (Ar-ba/ma-miḥ-ri, CLBT, p. 13, A 124:1, 4), son of Partasamu (q.v.). He rented a house in Borsippa to a Babylonian in 486 B.C. Zadok interprets it as \*Arb/va-Mithra-, "brave through Mithra" (1977, p. 95 and n. 41).

16. Arbareme (Ar-ba/ma-re-me, TMH 2/3, 204:5, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17), an Achaemenid prince (LÚ *mār bīri*). He granted to his slave Girparna' (q.v.) some land by the Ḥarri-Piqūdu canal, near Nippur. The document was drafted in Nippur in 419 B.C. As Stolper has shown, this prince held the rank of "equerry" and, can probably be identified with Arbarios, the "chief of horsemen" (EEMA, p. 96). According to Ctesias (König 1972, p. 19, no. 47), during the struggle for the throne between Sekyndianos (Sogdianus) and Okhos (i.e., Darius II) in 424 B.C., Arbarios defected from Sogdianus to Okhos. On the etymology see also Zadok 1977, p. 109: \*Arba-raiva-, "young (and) rich."

17. Arbarta (Ar-bar-ta ?, EKBK 31:7). a holder of a fief (*bīr kussī*) granted by the royal administration. The document was drafted in the locality of Manaḥu in the 40th year of Artaxerxes' reign (425 or 365 B.C., depending on whether Artaxerxes I or II is meant here). The same tablet mentions three more Iranian names (Abigni, Bagadatu, and Numingu, q.vv.; cf. Zadok 1977, p. 107).

18. Arbatema' (Ar-ba-te-ma-a' par-sa-a-a. VAS 4, 191:2), a "Persian" (the ethnic name is written without the determinative LÚ). The document is a receipt for half a year's rent for a storehouse at Borsippa that he rented to a Babylonian named Nabû-aḥ-ittannu. The payment was made in 485 B.C., and each party was given a copy of the document. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 35 s.v.: \*Arba-θaiva- ("Jungwaise"); but cf. Zadok 1977, p. 108.

19. Arbukku/Arbakka, Neo-Assyrian Arbaku (713 B.C.), Greek Arbakēs. According to Grantovskij (pp. 267-68), this is the Old Iranian name \*Arbaka- ("small," "child"). See also Hinz in ASN, p. 35 (\*Arbauka-); Mayrhofer in OnP, p. 154, no. 8.448 (Harbakka ?), with previous literature; Zadok 1976c, p. 67 ("-ka- extension of a retrenched name \*Rbu-; cf. Ved. *rbhu-* "clever, skillful.")

a) Ar-bu-ka-a' (Kelsey Museum 8133: I4, unpublished), son of Baga-ḥaja (q.v., b) and a witness in a contract recording a lease of cattle.

b) Ar-ba-ak-ka (HSM 8408:2, unpublished), a slave of Tattannu who loaned fifty shekels of silver to two other slaves of the same master. The promissory note was drafted in 437 B.C. at an unknown place.

c) Ar-bu-uk-ku (PBS 2/1, 160:5). The tablet is very damaged. It seems that he was a foreman at the royal estates (LÚ *gardupatu*) in the Nippur region during the reign of Darius II.

d) Arbakēs, one of Artaxerxes II's generals during his war with Cyrus the Younger in Babylonia (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1,7,11).

20. Ardēsi (<sup>f</sup>Ar-di-e-si, Kelsey Museum 8133:15, unpublished), owner of an estate. Her steward Aršekka' (q.v.) witnessed a cattle lease. According to personal communication from Livshits, Ardēsi perhaps can be explained as "seeker of prosperity" from Old Iranian \*Arda-isa; cf. Avestan *arəd-*, "gedeihen lassen" (AiWB, col. I93); Old Indian *ṛdha-* "to prosper, succeed;" Khot. Saka *pātāl*, "to prosper" <\*pati-arda-.

21. Ar'ennu (Ar-e'en-nu, EKBK 24:10), the employer of a Babylonian manager (*paqdu*). The text was drafted in Babylon in the third year of Artaxerxes (462, 402 or 356 B.C.). Zadok (1976c, p. 68; 1977, p. 98) explains the name as \*Aryaina-.

22. Ariāpanu (Ar-ia-a-pa-nu, Kelsey Museum 89490:29,31, unpublished). The text, drafted in Babylon in 428 B.C., mentions a Babylonian manager employed by Ariāpanu and a slave of belonging to Ariāpanu (his name is broken). According to Livshits, the name means "protecting Aryans."

23. Ariaupamma. On the name see Eilers 1936, p. 172, n. 1; idem 1955, p. 229; Zadok 1977, p. 100 (\*Arya-upama-).

a) Ar-ia-ú-pa-am-ma (VAT I5612, unpublished; see Eilers 1936, p. 172).

b) Apparently, the name is also Ar-ia-a'-pa-m[a?] (EEMA 56:4: see also lines 8 and 11 where the name has been only partly preserved). The document is in a very bad condition. It dates to between 445 and 424 B.C. and seems to record a rent payment for a field belonging to Ariaupamma. It seems that a slave of the latter is also referred to in the text.

24. Aramati (Ar-ra-ma-ti, TMH 2/3, 171:6), a slave-owner in Tabānu, near Borsippa, in 494 B.C. On the etymology see Gershevitch *apud* Zadok 1977, p. 95 and n. 43 (\*Aramati-, "having right, appropriate thinking"). Cf. also Avestan *arām.matay-* "rechtes, angemessenes Denken" (AiWB, col. 189).

25. Arrišittum (Ar-ri-šit-tum, TMH 2/3, 190: 3,4,7; PBS 2/1, 48:15; 51:14; 52:16. 137:1,4,9; Ar-ri-šit-tú, ibid. 48: L.E.; 51: L.E.; 52: Lo. E.; 191: U.E.), an Achaemenid prince (*mār bīti*) referred to in documents drafted in Nippur between 422 and 417 B.C. Cf. Greek Arsites. See Eilers in IBKU, p. 65, n. 3; Cardascia, p. 7, n. 4; Stolper in EEMA, p. 66; Zadok 1977, p. 109 (\*Ršita-, with reference to Grantovskij, pp. 74 and 238).

According to TMH 2/3, 190, his slave Bēl-ittannu managed his date orchard in Bīt-ša-pān-ekalli by the Sīn-māgir canal in the Nippur region and rented it to the Murašû firm. This document is a receipt for rent paid in dates for this property. The same tablet also refers to the brother of Bēl-ittannu, another slave of Arrišittu. As seen from PBS 2/1, 137, the same Bēl-ittannu, "slave of the prince Arrišittu," mortgaged the field



to the Murašû firm. Bēl-iddin, the brother of Bēl-ittannu, requested three agents of Murašû to exchange the mortgaged field for another and guaranteed that Arrišittu would not sue because of this. Finally, Bēl-ittannu and Bēlšunu, slaves of Arrišittu, are listed among slaves in PBS 2/1, 48, 51 and 52 (see also *ibid.* 191:U.E.).

26. Aršāma (Ar-šá-am, BE 10, 130:2; Ar-šam-ma, *ibid.* 100:4,7; Ar-šá-am-mu, TCL 13, 203:8, etc.), the satrap of Egypt and owner of land and herds in the Nippur region. See Driver in AD, p. 89, where full references are given; however, exclude from the list BE 10, 128 where the name Aršāma was read mistakenly. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 102; now also add to the list EEMA 11:4 (Ar-šá-mu) and 109:1 (Ar-šá-am-m[u]). Cf. Aramaic 'RŠM (AD, p. 103) in the letters of Aršāma's archive from Egypt, and Greek Arsames. This is a well-known Old Iranian name Ršāma- (Kent, p. 171: "having the might of a hero"; Hinz in ASN, p. 206: \*Ršamā-: "helden-stark"; Zadok 1977, p. 109).

He was an Achaemenid prince and, according to numerous Murašû documents drafted between 425 and 403 B.C., owned large herds of sheep and goats in Nippur. He rented these out through his Babylonian manager Enlil-suppē-muḫur. Thus, on the 21st of the month Ululu in 413 B.C. he rented 1,799 head to various shepherds (BE 10, 130; 131; PBS 2/1, 145, 146) and three days later 306 more (PBS 2/1, 147). The next day he rented out 276 head (PBS 2/1, 148). Thus, over the course of five days in 413 B.C. he rented 2,381 head of sheep and goats. In one day alone in 403 B.C. he rented out 1,333 head of sheep and goats (BE 9,1). In 411 B.C. he rented out 687 head of small livestock (BE 10, 132; PBS 2/1, 144). Aršāma probably also had other kinds of livestock because many of the documents stipulate that only the sheep and goats at the disposal of chief herdsman Šabaḫtani' were let out. The shepherds were obliged to give the products of the livestock and its increase back to the owner in set amounts, while the remaining portion represented the payment to the herdsmen for pasturage and care.

According to EEMA 11, in 425 B.C. several men asked Enlil-šum-iddin, a Murašû representative in Nippur, to sublet to them a series of grain fields, including land of Aršāma and crown lands (*uzbarra*) by the Sîn-māgir canal, as well as a canal and forty oxen with their harness.

Enlil-šum-idcīn agreed to rent them these lands for an annual payment of 1,300 *kur* (234,000 liters) of barley, 100 *kur* (18,000 liters) of wheat, 100 *kur* of spelt, and some other products.

According to EEMA 109, a lawsuit by Šiṭa', a slave of Aršāma, against this Enlil-šum-iddin was considered by a "satrap" (his name has not been preserved), by Ispitama' (q.v., an Iranian name), and by some other persons, including Ispitama's slave (*ardu*) Baga'dātu (q.v., *j*), in Nippur in 424 B.C. Šiṭa' accused Enlil-šum-iddin, his slaves, agents, and messengers of plundering his property. The defendants settled out of court and agreed to pay an extremely high compensation—500 *kur* (90,000 liters) of barley—to Šiṭa'.

All documents considered so far come from the Murašû archive. One other relevant document comes from Nippur and is dated in the second year of Artaxerxes (403 B.C., if Artaxerxes II is meant). This is TCL 13, 203, according to which some fields located on the bank of a canal in the neighborhood of Nippur were divided for fourteen years among three persons, each of whom was to render the service due to the king for his portion of land. These fields bordered on the royal estates and Aršāma's domain.

As we have seen, Aršāma's connections with the Murašû firm spanned at least twenty one years, from 425 through to 404 B.C. (Stolper in EEMA, p. 65).

Some sixty years ago, König (1928, p. 155) assumed that the Aršāma referred to in the Murašû documents was the satrap of Egypt known from several Elephantine papyri (AP 17, 21, 27, etc.; cf. Driver in AD, pp. 12–14). Some Aramaic letters sent by Aršāma himself to managers of his estates in Upper and Lower Egypt have also been preserved, at least two of which were sent from Babylon where Aršāma was staying when they were drafted (AD, nos. 10 and 11). Although none of the letters bears a date, it seems beyond any doubt that their sender was the satrap of Egypt. He was appointed to his post in 454 and kept it until about 403 B.C.

In his Aramaic letters Aršāma is called *bar baytā*, i.e., "prince," and in several Murašû tablets he bears the same title in Akkadian translation (*mār bīti*, see BE 9, 1:6, 19–20, etc.; cf. Driver in AD, p. 88). In a number of Aramaic papyri from Elephantine Aršāma is called *mr'*,

"lord" (ibid., p. 12). Arsames, satrap of Egypt, is also mentioned by Greek historians (Driver in AD, pp. 93f.).

27. Aršekka' (?) ([A]r?-še-ek-ka-a', Kelsey Museum 8133:15, unpublished), a steward (LÚ.GAL É) of a woman named Ardēsi (q.v.). He is mentioned as a witness in a contract regarding a lease of cattle. This is probably an Iranian name (\*Ršayaka-?).

28. Artā (Ar-ta-a, BE 9, 6:3,5), a retrenched name from \*Rta- (Zadok 1977, p. 97). According to Zadok, this Artā might have been Artarios (q.v.), satrap of Babylonia, and, in any case, held an important post. The document was drafted in Nippur in 439 B.C. and mentions a certain Attarapāta (q.v.) who was a slave of Artā and bore the title *dašīia*.

29. Artabanu (Ar-ta-ba-nu, Ungnad 1960, p. 79, Amherst 258:4), one of the highly-placed Iranians who were sent ca. 485 B.C. to Borsippa to carry out an important mission. He was issued a jug of wine for his provisions. The same name is known also from Greek, Aramaic, and Elamite sources of the Achaemenid period in the forms of Artabanos, 'RTBNW, and Irdabanuš (Mayrhofer in OnP, p. 163, no. 8.576: \*Rta-bānuš, "mit Glanz des Rta"; cf. Zadok 1977, p. 96).

30. Artabi (Ar-ta-bi, UET 4, 44:24), whose son Sīn-iddin acted as a witness at the lease of a field in 372 B.C. in Ur. Thus, Artabi gave his son the Babylonian name Sīn-iddin. On the etymology see Zadok 1975, p. 245: \*Rta-ba-("shining through truth"). According to Livshits, this name can be explained as patronymic from \*Rtabīn-.

31. Artadāta ('rtdt, CIS 2/1, 100), father of PRŠNDT (q.v.), both mentioned on an Aramaic cylinder seal from Mesopotamia probably dating from late Achaemenid times (cf. Zadok 1977, p. 100). On the etymology and previous literature see Hinz in ASN, p. 209 ("von der Rechten Ordnung gegeben").

32. Artagatu (<sup>f</sup>Ar-ta-ga-a-[tum], Dar. 476:1), a slave woman (*amtu*) of Artasāta (q.v.). Thus, her master was also an Iranian. The document

was drafted in 406 B.C. in Babylon. Cf. Zadok 1977, p. 95; Stolper 1987, p. 393.

33. Artahšar (Ar-ta-aḥ-šá-ar, BE 9, 4:3; Ar-taḥ-šá-ri, BE 10, 58: U.E., etc.). On the etymology see Zadok 1977, p. 109: \*Rta-xšara- ("brave through Rta"); with previous literature. Cf. also Ossetic *āxsar*.

He was an important official, mentioned in documents drafted in Nippur from 443 through 419 B.C. He had an estate in the Nippur region, which was administered by his manager (*paqdu*, see PBS 2/1, 27:19–20; 29:14,18, etc.). At least seven of his slaves appear in business documents as agents, contracting parties, and witnesses (BE 9, 4:3; BE 10, 58: 7–9, 11, 13, Lo.E.; 88:9; PBS 2/1, 71:11; 84:4–5, L.E.; Lo. E.; 95:11; 109:13; 172:12; 133:16, 18). It seems that Artahšar was in charge of the groups of *šusānu* and *māhišē* workmen dependent on the royal administration, for overseers of these groups were subordinate to him (cf. Stolper in EEMA, pp. 91f.). The Murašû firm rented lands from these workmen and paid royal taxes and rent due on this land (BE 10, 58, 89; PBS 2/1, 193, 205, etc.).

Scholars have identified this Artahšar with Ctesias' Artoxarēs, the Paphlagonian eunuch who was influential at Darius II's court (König 1972, p. 19, no. 49). This identification has been discussed in detail by Stolper (EEMA, pp. 91f.), who pointed out that Artoxarēs had helped Darius II in his struggle for the throne and then succeeded to Manuštanu's (Ctesias' Menostanēs) post and to the control of his former agents (Hüsing, p. 40; Cardascia, p. 7, n. 4; Lewis, p. 18, n. 94; Zadok 1977, p. 97).

According to PBS 2/1, 84, Artahšar's field was rented to the Murašû firm, which paid him 60 *kur* (10,800 liters) of barley through several agents. The document was drafted in presence of Artahšar's accountant, Marduk-ibni. The term for accountant is *ḥamāarakara*, an Old Iranian loan-word (\**hamāra-kara-*; see Eilers in IBKU, pp. 43–59; CAD H, pp. 59f; AHW, p. 44). The title is attested in Aramaic texts (*HMRKR*; for references see Driver in AD, p. 104). In all probability, the same term is also attested in the form of *ammar akal* (BE 10, 80:15, etc.; see Eilers in IBKU, pp. 48f. and 56; CAD H, p. 59; cf., however, AHW, p. 44). *Ḥamāarakara* first appears in a document from Babylon

during the reign of Darius I (VAT 15607; IBKU, pl. II). As seen from ROMCT 2, 35, drafted in the locality Ҳуш-Šagībi during the reign of Artaxerxes (possibly in 455 if this king was Artaxerxes I), two Babylonians sold their slave who bore the Iranian name Patiridāta (q.v.). The same document mentions as witnesses two more Babylonians who were *ḥamāarakara*, i.e., accountants.

All other references to this title come from the Murašû documents, where accountants of the firm appear as agents and witnesses (BE 10, 59:13; 80:15; 82:14; 96:16). An "accountant of the king" is also listed among such witnesses (BE 10, 130:32 R; the tablet records the hire of Aršāma's livestock).

34. Artahšassu (Ar-taḥ-šá-as-su, BE 9, 1: 26,33; 2:19, etc.; see *ibid.*, pp. 50f.; EEMA 1;1. etc.; Ar-tak-a-su, *ibid.* 35:3,17; [Ar-tak]-šat-[su], *ibid.* 45:15; Ar-taḥ-šá-siṣ, *ibid.* 67:17; Ar-taḥ-šá-as, *ibid.* 69:16; cf. *ibid.*, p. 286; Aš-taḥ-šá-as-su, Knoff, p. 50, SC 61:4), three Achaemenid kings (Artaxerxes, Old Persian *Ṛtaxšaça-*, "having a kingdom of justice," see Kent, p. 171; cf. also Zadok 1984c, pp. 73f.).

a) Artaxerxes I (464–424 B.C.). For references to Babylonian documents dated in this reign see Dandamayev 1984, p. 17. To these should be added: OECT 10, 189–212, 215, 217, 225, 228–232; Kessler, p. 264, no. 1; p. 268, no. 4; p. 269, no. 5; p. 270 no. 6; TCL13, 203; cf. also Donbaz, p. 24. It is possible that some of the documents listed here belong to Artaxerxes II or Artaxerxes III. For astronomical diaries dated in his reign, see Sachs, p. 130.

b) Artaxerxes II, (404–359 B.C.). For references see Dandamayev 1984, p. 18; see also Stolper 1988, p. 198. Fragments of black marble with Babylonian, Old Persian, and Elamite inscriptions dated in Artaxerxes' reign were discovered in Babylon in 1906. They probably belong to the reign of Artaxerxes II (Weissbach *apud* Wetzell *et alii*, pp. 48f., and Schmitt 1975, pp. 42f.). On astronomical diaries dated in his reign see Sachs, p. 132.

c) Artaxerxes III (358–338 B.C.). For references to documents dated in his rule see Dandamayev 1984, p. 18; cf. Zadok 1984c, p. 74: "No economic document can be safely dated to his reign." He is mentioned in the datings of astronomical observations, see Sachs, p. 138.

35. Artahumanu (<sup>f</sup>Ar-ta-ḥu-ma-nu, OECT X, 357:5), a woman who sold two slaves to a Babylonian. The document was probably drafted in Kish; its date has not been preserved. The name apparently is \*Ṛta-humanah-, "having good thinking." Cf. Hinz in ASN, p. 210: "durch die Rechte Ordnung guten Sinnes."

36. Artambar (Ar-ta-am-ba-ra, BE 9, 82:16; Ar-ta-am-ba-ru, *ibid.*, 14:7; Ar-ta-am-bar-ri, *ibid.*, 13:4; Ar-ta-am-ba-ri, PBS 2/1, 133:8; Ar-tambar, *ibid.*, 128:3; Ar-ta-bar-ra-a', BE 10, 60:3, etc.). On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, pp. 213 (\*Ṛtam-bara-, "Träger der Rechten Ordnung"); cf. also Zadok 1977, p. 105 and Greek Artembarēs.

Documents from Nippur mention three men of this name.

a) According to EEMA 48, in 446 B.C. the Murašû firm paid crops as rent for land belonging to the temple of the god Bēl in Nippur, issuing the payment through an agent of Artambar, the chief steward of the royal household (*mašennu*). As seen from BE 9, 14, a certain Jadiḥ-ili was a rent collector in the Sīn canal region near Nippur and an agent of the *mašennu* official Artambar. In 437 B.C. he collected 97 *kur* 5 *sūr* (17,520 liters) of millet as rent for Bēl's land rented out to the Murašû firm and one more tenant. Jadiḥ-ili bears the same title in BE 9, 15, recording the Murašû firm's payment in 437 B.C. of 20 *kur* (3,600 liters) of millet as rent for a field. The payment was issued to two agents of Jadiḥ-ili, one of whom was Biṣā, son of Ḥašdaja, "the distributor of provisions for the *garda*" workmen (line 4: LÚ *pi-ti-pa-ba-ga*).

This is the Old Iranian word \**piθfā-baga*-, "distributor of provisions" (cf. Avestan *pitwā*-, *pīp*' in texts from Nisa; Eilers in IBKU, pp. 59-81; Hinz in ASN, p. 193). The same title appears in BE 10, 95, according to which a scribe-intpreter (*sepīru*) and Ea-ibni, the "distributor of provisions for the *garda*" were entrusted with a rent payment to be delivered to Lābāšī, the manager of the crown-prince's (LÚ *mār šarri*) estate, and to Laqip, the overseer of the *garda*. Thus, *pit(i)pabaga* distributed provisions for workmen (*garda*) of domains belonging to Persian nobility. It is hardly possible to accept von Soden's translation of this word as "Tischgenosse (des Königs)" (AHw, p. 869). This insignificant post was held by Babylonians.

In 437 B.C. a slave of Artambar was paid royal tax due on several bow fiefs rented out to the Murašû firm (BE 9, 13). Finally, according to BE 10, 60, in 422 B.C. a slave and a scribe-interpreter of Artambar were issued  $6 \frac{2}{3}$  kur (1,200 liters) of vegetable oil, which probably constituted a royal tax and was to be delivered to the treasury through Artambar.

b) Son of Bēl-ibni (Eilers in IBKU, p. 63, n. 1 reads this name as Nabû-ibni which apparently is a *lapsus calami*). He is referred to in BE 9, 82 drafted in 425 B.C. The document records the payment of sixteen minas of silver as royal tax (*ilku*) on  $9 \frac{1}{2}$  bow lands which were rented to the Murašû firm. The text contains guarantees that there will be no contestation by Artambar (his title is not mentioned).

c) Son of Sîn-ēṭir. PBS 2/1, 133, drafted in Nippur in 417 B.C., records a payment of royal tax (*ilku*) in silver, beer, flour, barley, and a ram for bow lands of the *ḫaṭru* association of "swordbearers of the crown prince's estate" (Stolper in EEMA, pp. 54f.). This *ḫaṭru* was headed by Artambar, who ordered one of his slaves to collect the tax from the Murašû firm, which rented these lands. Another of Artambar's slaves is listed among witnesses. As a "foreman (*šaknu*) of swordbearers," Artambar is also mentioned in PBS 2/1, 128, drafted in 418 B.C. According to it, the Murašû firm paid royal tax on bow lands of the swordbearers. The recipient was Artambar, and his seal is impressed on the tablet, which was written in "Susa" (KUR Šušan, possibly in the capital of Elam; it is also possible that the tablet was written in a town in the Nippur region).

Artambar *a* apparently was a Persian (or, in any case, an Iranian) and for this reason his patronymic is not mentioned. He held the office of the chief steward of the royal household in Nippur between 446 and 422 B.C.

The two other persons with the same name had Babylonian patronymics and apparently were of Babylonian (or Aramean) descent. In the opinion of Hilprecht (BE 9, p. 50), Artambar *a* and *b* were the same person. This can hardly be right since the first of them was a highly-placed Iranian and the second a Babylonian. Eilers (IBKU, p. 62) assumes that Artambar, son of Sîn-ēṭir, was an Iranian noble who occupied the office of the steward of the royal household and later

became a foreman of the staff of the crown prince's estate. Stolper (EEMA, p. 55) thinks that such an identification is probably correct, though it cannot be confirmed. It seems to me that Artambar, son of Sîn-ēṭir, should be distinguished from the Iranian Artambar. Probably Artambar, son of Sîn-ēṭir, spent some time in Susa, the capital of Elam, carrying out some service obligation.

37. Artamissa (Ar-ta-mi-is-sa, Hecker, 47:11), son of Bagakamu (q.v.), witness to a promissory note, according to which Iti-Marduk-balāpu, the chief of the Egibi business house in Babylon, borrowed twelve minas of silver. The document was drafted in 523 B.C. in Ḫumadēšu. The debtor was to repay the sum in Babylon to creditor's brother. On the etymology of the name see Zadok 1976d, p. 76: \*Ṛta-misa-, "he whose thought dwells in truth." Cf. also *ibid.*, n. 169: "It is unlikely that this name ... represents \*Ṛta-miṣa-." But see Hinz in ASN, p. 214 and, which is more important, Aramaic 'RTMTR (Bowman, no. 33:3).

38. Artamišu (Ar-ta-mi-š[u], VAS 6, 323:7), mentioned in a badly damaged tablet from the end of Darius I's reign or the beginning of Xerxes' rule. See Zadok 1977, p. 94: \*Ṛta-viša- (with previous literature).

39. Artamma' (Ar-ta-am-ma-a', PBS 2/1, 101:20), son of In-du-..., a witness to a receipt drafted in Nippur in 420 B.C. recording payment of the royal tax on bow fiefs. Cf. Zadok 1977, p. 105: \*Ṛta-ama-. Zadok reads Artamma's patronymic as In-du-ú(?), from Ḫindu-, perhaps "Indian."

40. Artanapa' (Ar-ta-na-pa-a', PBS 2/1, 77:4), holder of a bow fief in the Nippur region in 421 B.C. On the etymology see Zadok 1975, p. 245: \*Ṛta-nāfa-, "(belonging to) Ṛta's family."

41. Artaparna' (Ar-ta-par-na-a', LBFP, no. 59; BE 10, 89:16, R). On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 210, with previous literature and interpretations; Zadok 1977, p. 104 (\*Ṛta-farna-; cf. Elamite Ir-da-pir-na and Greek Artafernēs).





a) Owner of two fields, probably near Babylon. The document belongs to the reign of Darius I (LBFP, no. 59).

b) Son of *Hambazu'* (q.v.), a witness to a rent payment for land belonging to a Persian prince who lived in Nippur in 420 B.C. His patronymic is also Iranian (BE 10, 89).

42. Artapati (Ar-ta-pa-ti, Ungnad 1960, pp. 79ff., Amherst 258:22), mentioned in a document recording travel provisions issued to a group of Persians ca. 485 B.C. and probably drafted at Borsippa. In particular, his scribe-interpreter, Bēl-ittannu, a scribe-interpreter, was paid ten shekels of silver. On the etymology see Zadok 1977, p. 96, n. 55: \**Rta-pāta*-, "protected by \**Rta*-(truth)."

43. Artarēme/u (Ar-ta-re-e-mu, BE 9, 48:7 = TMH 2/3, 144; BE 9, 82: L. E., etc.; Ar-ta-re-me, *ibid.*, 72:11, R, etc.), father of Manuštanu, an Achaemenid prince. On the name of Artarēme/u see Hüsing, p. 51 (Artarēwa); Eilers 1934a, p. 332; Zadok 1977, p. 109 (\**Rta-raiva*-). On Artarēme's estate near Nippur see Zadok 1978, p. 326. Stolper (1983, pp. 232f.; EEMA, p. 91) identifies this Artarēme with Artarios (q.v.), satrap of Babylonia, mentioned by Ctesias (cf. below s.v. Manuštanu).

He is mentioned in Murašû documents dating from 431 through 423 B.C., all drafted in Nippur except PBS 2/1, 5, which was written in Babylon and brought to Nippur. According to BE 9, 39, in 431 B.C. Artarēme's manager Ludaku received two minas of silver from the Murašû firm as annual rent for a field. This land belonged to a woman named Madumītu "from the house of Amisiri", apparently a Persian noblewoman.

Various persons subordinated to Artarēme appear in the Murašû documents as witnesses. Among them a slave (BE 9, 72:11, L.E.) and a scribe-interpreter who bore the Iranian name Rušunpāti (BE 9, 48 = TMH 2/3, 144:7) are mentioned. Deserving of special attention is Zitti-Nabû, son of Mušēzib-Bēl, who bore the Iranian title *dātabar(r)a*, "law officer." (AHw, p. 165; CAD D, p. 122; Hinz in ASN, p. 85; Stolper in EEMA, p. 91, n. 84; cf. Aramaic *dēṭābrā* in Daniel 3:2, Elamite *daddabarra/datibara* [see Hallock in PF, p. 39], Parthian *dībr*, *d'dbr*, Middle Persian *dādwār*, *dāywar*; the Old Persian form of the word was

\**dātabara*-.) Zitti-Nabû is listed among witnesses in Nippur documents drafted between 425–419 B.C. These texts record payment issued by the Murašû firm of royal taxes or rents on bow fiefs. Two texts call him LU *dātabara* (PBS 2/1, 1:14; 34:13), and in all other tablets he is referred to as Artarême's *dātabara* (BE 9, 82: L.E.; 83:13, R; 84 = TMH 2/3, 202:11, Lo. E.; 107:15; PBS 2/1, 185:15; EEMA, 55:L. E.). In one case the tax was paid through a slave belonging to the Persian prince Manuštānu, son of Artarême (BE 9, 83). Another tablet is a receipt for rent on land belonging to Manuštānu and paid through his messengers (BE 9, 84 = TMH 2/3, 202). Two documents are rental contracts regarding bow fiefs (BE 9, 107; PBS 2/1, 34) and one is a promissory note (PBS 2/1, 185). Finally, Zitti-Nabû appears as a witness in two tablets recording rentals, but these texts do not give his title (BE 10, 101; PBS 2/1, 5).

Outside the Murašû archive, the title *dātabara* is attested in a tablet at the Oriental Institute, St. Petersburg (Sayce, p. 279:19 LU *da-ta-bar-ra*), which mentions a Babylonian with this title. The document was drafted in Šihu, a town located near Babylon, in 406 B.C. The title has been misread by Sayce (cf. Stolper in EEMA, p. 91, n. 84). The same word is used in the unpublished BM 30136 as the title of an Iranian (s.v. Zamaspa b).

The word *dāta* is also attested in a number of Babylonian texts of the Achaemenid period. This is the Old Persian *dāta*- (for references see Kent, p. 189; cf. AHw, p. 165; CAD D, p. 122; Hinz in ASN, p. 84). In the Babylonian version of the Behistun inscription, *dāta*- is translated *di-na-a-tú*, "laws" (von Voigtlander, p. 13, line 9). In the Daiva inscription of Xerxes (XPh, line 40), it is transliterated as *da-a-ta* (Herzfeld, p. 31).

Dar. 53, drafted in Babylon in 520 B.C., records that a certain Nabû-apla-iddin filed a court complaint that his slave had run away and that he had later seen him at the home of Nabû-uballiṣ, who had given the slave a completely different name and had later sold him to a member of the house of Egibi. The judges ruled that if Nabû-apla-iddin's statement turned out to have real foundation, he could, "according to the law (line 15: *da-a-ta*) of the king," take his slave away. UET 4, 101, drafted in Ur in 506 B.C., records that a regulation of accounts between three

persons regarding a promissory note for 52 *kur* (9,360 liters) of barley should be done in accordance with "the laws (line 12: *da-a-tum*) of the king." To judge from the fragmentary VAS 3, 159, written in Damar in 487 B.C., several men paid their toll dues to the king in barley "according to the laws (line 10: *da-a-ti*) of the king." A promissory note from 218 B.C. contains the stipulation that a loan must be paid "according to the laws of the king" (Strassmaier, p. 151, no. 13:9: *da-a-tú*). Finally, VAS 6, 128 contains a decision of some administrative body made in Borsippa in 510 B.C. concerning a regular issue of flour to certain persons. This decision was made before several officials, including a Babylonian who bore the title *ša muḫḫi dātu* (line 10: *da-a-tu*; cf. CAD D, p. 123: "a high judicial official").

44. Artarios (\**Rta-raiva*-), according to Ctesias, the satrap of Babylonia sometime during the reign of Artaxerxes I (464–424 B.C.) and a brother of the same king (König 1972, p. 15, no. 38). Zadok (1984c, p. 74) identifies him with Artā (q.v.), but Stolper considers him the same person as Artarēme (q.v.) and assumes that his political career "was long, thirty years or more" (EEMA, pp. 90ff.; see also Stolper 1987, pp. 399f.).

Artarus. See Artarušu

45. Artarušu (Ar-ta-ru-šú, Camb. 384:11, 19; Ar-ta-ru!-us, Pinches 1891/1892, p. 134, line 8). According to Camb. 384, a document drafted in the city of Ḫumadēšu (cf. Zadok 1976d, p. 74), two Iranians (Razamarma' and Aspumetana', q.vv.) had sold two female slaves to a Babylonian who, judging from their names (Kardara' and Patiza', q.vv.), were also of Iranian descent. When a disagreement arose about this transaction, Artarušu, the headman of the merchants (line 11: LÚ GAL DAM.QAR.MEŠ = rab tamkāri), declared in the presence of three scribes and an Elamite that the sellers had already received half the purchase price of the slave women and placed his seal on the tablet. As Zadok (1976d, p. 76) has pointed out, he is mentioned with the same title in Pinches 1891/1892, p. 134, and where his name given as Artarus. In the latter tablet, dated in the seventh year of an unnamed

king and probably also drafted in Ḫumadēšu in 523 B.C., Artarus is one of the witnesses for the sale of two slaves. The name is Iranian \*Rta-rauča-, "having the light of Arta" (Zadok 1976d, p. 76, with previous literature).

46. Artasurtu (Ar-ta-sur-ru, BE 10, 114:14), a slave of Gubáru, the "governor of Akkad" (i.e., Babylonia). In Nippur in 418 B.C. he witnessed a rent payment for a field belonging to the Iranian Iprāduparna' (q.v.). Cf. Artasyras in Greek sources. See Zadok 1977, p. 105: \*Rta-sūra- (with previous literature).

47. Artasāta (Ar-ta-šá-a-ta, Dar. 476:2, 8), whose "slave woman" Artagatu (q.v.) owned a field rented to a Babylonian. The document is a receipt for barley paid as the annual rent, which was remitted through Bēl-ušuršu, a slave of Artasāta. The document was drafted in Babylon ca. 406 B.C. (on the date see Stolper 1987, p. 393). On the name see Zadok 1977, p. 95 with n. 40: \*Rta-š(y)āta-, "happy through truth" (with previous literature).

48. Artamanu (Ar-ta-ú-ma-nu, EEMA 4:2, cf. *ibid.*, lines 5 and 7). According to the contract, concluded in Nippur in 422 B.C., a member of the Murašû firm rented a field of this Artamanu through the steward of the latter. This name may be the same as Artuḫumana' (q.v.; see Hinz in ASN, p. 210).

49. Arta[...] in Bīt Ar-ta-[], "Domain of Arta[...]" (CT 51, 69: 3). The text is undated and very damaged. Cf. Zadok 1981/1982, p. 137.

50. Arta[...] (Ar-ta-[], PBS 2/1, 64:2), father of Taddannu, a contracting party in Nippur in 421 B.C. Apparently he was a Babylonian.

51. Artim (Ar-ti-im, Evetts, Appendix, no. 2:1, 5). According to the document, drafted in 486 B.C. in Bīt-Šaḫiran, she was the wet nurse of Rataḫšaḫ, the daughter of King Xerxes. Two persons were to deliver six *kur* (1,080 liters) of barley to Artim, probably as rent for a field. One of them bore the Iranian name Surundu (q.v.), the other was a

Babylonian, "steward of the [house] of Artim." The end of the tablet is broken off.

Some scholars assume that Artim is to be identified with the Persian name Artamas attested in Greek sources, which can be derived from *Rta-*. Others suppose that Artim is an Anatolian name, citing the [']RTM attested in an Aramaic inscription as the transcription of the name of the Lydian goddess Artimu. See for literature Lipiński, pp. 164-68; Hinz in ASN, p. 218; Zadok 1977, p. 110, n. 231).

52. Artuḫumana' (Ar-tu-uḫ-u-ma-na-a', BE 10, 129:18, Lo. E.; TMH 2/3, 148:16, Lo. E.), master of a slave named Artūpam (q.v.) in Nippur in 416 B.C. He may be identical with Artāumanu (q.v.). On the name see Hinz in ASN, p. 210.

53. Artūpam (Ar-tu-ū-pa-am, BE 10, 129:17, Lo. E.; TMH 2/3, 148:16, Lo. E.), a slave of Artuḫumana' and a witness on a rent receipt for a field belonging to an Iranian. The document was drafted in Nippur in 416 B.C. For literature on the etymology see Zadok 1977, p. 105: \*Rta-upama-, "highest through Arta."

54. Arturū[...] (Ar-tu-ru-ū[...], Kelsey Museum 8133:17, unpublished), whose father Batraparsa' (q.v.) witnessed a lease contract for cattle.

55. Arumaina' (Ar-ū-ma-i-na-a', BE 10, 128:4), father of Nabû-mušē-tiq-uddê, a holder of a bow fief near Nippur rented to the Murašû firm in 417 B.C. Cf. Zadok 1976c, p. 68: \*Rvaina- from \*arva-, "swift, brave."

56. Arza' (in URU bīt Ar-za-a', BE 10, 46:7, 10; cf. *ibid.*, 32:6), "Town of Arza'," a locality near Nippur probably named for an Iranian. Cf. Zadok 1976d., p. 72, n. 126: perhaps this name "may be derived from the place-name A-ra-zu in Media" (AOAT 6, p. 24).

57. Asapašin (A-sa-pa-ši-in, Dar. 339:2), owner of a slave. This slave (*qallu*) seems to have occupied a privileged position, since the document, drafted in Babylon in 510 B.C., mentions his patronymic. He

vowed by the gods Bēl and Nabû and by king Darius to bring a certain person, who was at his "disposal" (apparently as security for a debt) and turn him over to a member of the Egibi business house for a specified time. On the name see Zadok 1977, p. 94: \*Aspa-čana-.

58. Aspa' (As-pa-a', CT 56, 615: rev. 2), owner of a slave. The document comes from Sippar and is undated (probably it belongs to the second half of the sixth century B.C.) See Zadok 1983a, p. 319, where this name is explained as a shortened name "from a compound containing *aspa-*, 'horse'."

59. Aspabar (As-pa-bar, VAS 5, 128:20, 32), a lance bearer (line 32: LU *áš-ta-bar-ri*, i.e., the Iranian word *arštibara-*, cf. also BE 10, 76:5: LU *áš-te-ba-ri-an-na*, which is a plural form). He witnessed a slave sale contract which he sealed with his signet ring. The date, probably during the reign of Artaxerxes I, and the name of the city where the tablet was drafted are broken off. Although he bore the Iranian name \*Aspa-bara-, his father, Šum-ušur, apparently was a Babylonian.

60. Aspa'dasta' (As-pa-a'-da-as-ta-a', BE 9, 106:4; As-pa-a'-da-as-ta, BE 10, 50:6; PBS 2/1, 192:4), whose father, Bagamirri (q.v.) held a bow fief near Nippur in 424-422 B.C. Cf. Greek *Aspadas*. See I. Gershevitch *apud* Zadok 1976b, p. 213: \*Aspa-dasta-, "he by whom horses are trained."

61. Aspamiššu (As-pa-mi-iš-šú, Ungnad 1960, p. 79, Amherst 258:5), one of the Iranians sent to Borsippa ca. 485 B.C. on an important mission (cf. s.v. Uštānu). This text records that Aspamiššu was issued a jug of wine. On the etymology see Zadok 1977, p. 96: \*Aspam-iša-, "seeking horses." Cf. below Uspamiš.

62. Aspumetana' (As-pu-me-ta-na-a', Camb. 384:4), son of Asputatika. In 523 B.C. he and the Iranian Razamarma sold two slave women in Ḫumadēšu (cf. s.v. Artarušu). On possible etymologies see Zadok 1976d, p. 76.

63. Asputatika (As-pu-ta-ti-ka, Camb. 384:5), father of Aspumetana' (q.v.), a contracting party in 523 B.C. in Ḫumadēšu. On the etymology see Zadok 1976d, p. 77: "having a crowd of horses."

64. Astapanu (As-ta-pa-nu, CT 49, 178:5). The text was drafted in the city of Cutha during the Seleucid period (the date has been lost, the tablet being very damaged). It seems that he was a holder of a fief (cf. van der Spek, p. 128, n. 241). Zadok (1979a, p. 294) thinks this name may render the Iranian \*Asta-pāna-, "home, dwelling protector."

65. Astušebarma' (As-tu-še-bar-ma-a', BE 9, 18:8), son of Ḫabarda' (q.v.), a witness to a rent payment for a field near Nippur in 435 B.C. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 47: \*Astašaibarva-, "sein Heim legend"; cf. Zadok 1977, p. 104.

66. Ašpazanda' (Aš-pa-za-an-da-a', BE 10, 66:4), an Areian who held a bow fief near Nippur in 421 B.C. Cf. Zadok 1976b, p. 213: \*Aspa-janta-.

67. Atarbanuš (A-tar-ba-nu-uš, TCL 13, 193:31), son of Bagadātu, a judge of Iranian descent. Together with an Iranian judge named Ummadātu and several Babylonian judges, he was a witness for an enormous loan of forty-five minas of silver taken by a member of the Egibi business house. Cf. s.v. Ummadātu for details of the transaction. On the etymology see Zadok 1977, p. 93, n. 17: \*Āṭṭ-bānu-, "having the splendor of fire."

68. Ataršitra' (A-ta-ar-ši-it-ra-a', Pinches 1891/1892, p. 134:3), a slave sold to a Babylonian in 523 B.C. in Ḫumadēšu. See Zadok 1976d, p. 77: \*Āṭṭ-čiṭra-, "descended, originated from fire."

69. Atebaga' (A-te-ba-ga-a', Michigan Collection 46:4, 9), whose son Ispaudu (q.v.) rented a field for twenty years to a Babylonian in 461 B.C. in a contract found at Borsippa. Cf. At-te-ba-ka in Elamite tablets from Persepolis. See Gershevitch, p. 185: \*haṭya-pā-ka-, "protecting truth;" cf. Zadok 1976d, p. 77; Idem 1977, p. 99: \*Āṭiya-baga-.

70. Atēamuštu (A-te-e-a-muš-tum, Pinches 1891/1892, p. 134:9), a witness to a slave sale contract drafted in Ḫumadēšu in 523 B.C. The seller was also an Iranian. Atēamuštu bore the title *ša muḫḫi ginê* (line 10), "overseer of the regular dues" (cf. CAD G, p. 82). On the etymology see I. Gershevitch *apud* Zadok 1976d, p. 77: \*Āθiya-višta-, "he by whom fear has been subjugated." Cf. below Atimušti.

71. Ateiana' (A-te-ia-na-a', BE 9, 75:16, R), son of Maqamqam (probably a Semitic name), a "judge of the Sealand" (Māt-Tâmti), i.e., the region around the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates at the head of the Persian Gulf. In 425 B.C. in Nippur a receipt for the payment of royal tax (*ilku*) was drafted before him and another judge of the Sealand. The document is sealed with his signet ring. According to Zadok 1981/1982, p. 137), "it may be an *-ana-* patronymic of Old Iranian \*āθiya-, fear."

72. Atikam (A-ti-ka-am, TCL 13, 193:29), whose son Abiabu (a Semitic name) witnessed a loan issued in Babylon in 504 B.C. See Zadok 1975, p. 245: "perhaps Iran. \*Ati-kāma-, 'Beyond wish.'"

73. Atimušti (A-ti-mu-uš-ti, YBC 11607:13, unpublished), son of Umurū (q.v.), who was one of the witnesses to a promissory note drafted in 416 B.C. in Ecbatana for the enormous sum of 200 *kur* (36,000 liters) of dates. The creditors, of unknown ethnic origins, were Pasirinu, son of Simennu, and Parē (his patronymic is broken). The debtor bore a Babylonian name (Bēl-ab-ušur) and was a slave of a certain Šamšaja. The document stipulated that the loan was to be repaid in Babylonia. The tablet also contains Atimušti's seal. Cf. above Atēamuštu.

74. Atrata' (At-ra-ta-a'. VAS 3, 138/139:14/13), whose son Baginu (s.v. Bagaina *d*) witnessed a transaction in Babylon in 496 B.C. Atrata's son's name is also Iranian. See Benveniste 1966, p. 83: \*Āṭr-rāta-, "accordé par Ātar." According to V. Livshits, it would be better to explain this name as a "gift of Ātar."



75. Atrumanu' (At-ru-ma-nu-u', BE 9, 18:11; cf. Tu-ra-ba-na-a' in BE 9, 28a:15; 74:3), father of Napēnna' (s.v. Napiani *a*), an Areian soldier in Nippur in 425 B.C. See Zadok 1977, p. 115: \*Aṭṭ-b/vānu-.

76. Attaluš (At-ta-ku/lu-uš, CT 44, 81:4), son of Bagadātu (q.v., *d*), who was probably a temple slave in Borsippa. To judge from a damaged text, Attaluš and his brother Šihā (an Egyptian name) were issued a sum of money from the temple treasury in Borsippa sometime after 445 B.C. Attaluš is perhaps an Iranian name, though the etymology is unknown (Zadok 1977, p. 99). The date has been partly damaged. It seems that the document was drafted sometime after 445 B.C.

77. Attamarga' (At-ta-mar-ga-a', BE 9, 32:3), owner of a field near Nippur in 433 B.C. See I. Gershevitch *apud* Zadok 1977, p. 104: \*Ātata-marga-.

78. Attarapāta (At-ta-ra-pa-ta, BE 9, 6:4), a slave of Artā (q.v.) who bore the title LÚ *dašīia* (line 5: da-ši-ia) and was given a loan of thirty shekels of silver by a member of the Murašû firm in Nippur in 439 B.C. He was obliged to pay forty percent annual interest instead of the normal twenty percent, if he did not repay the loan on time. (For literature on the etymology see Zadok 1977, p. 100: \*Āṭṭ-pāta-, "protected by Āṭṭ-").

The exact meaning of *daš(š)īia* is unknown, but it is probably an Iranian loan-word (CAD D, p. 120; AHw, p. 165). This title is also attested in BE 10, 91, in which a certain Nanā-iddin, *dašīia* (lines 19-20 and Lo. E.; LÚ *da-āš-ia*) of Gubāru, the governor of Mesopotamia, witnesses the payment of royal tax on a number of bow fiefs near Nippur in 420 B.C. The document is sealed with signet ring of Nanā-iddin. Apart from these two Murašû texts, this title is attested in ROMCT 2, 48:3, where a certain Abdi-Isis is called LÚ *daššīia* of Bēlšunu, the "satrap" (LÚ *aḥšadrapānu*, an Old Iranian word). The tablet is a letter sent in 430 B.C., probably from Nippur, ordering Abdi-Isis be paid five shekels of silver (from the temple treasury?) as the equivalent of half a *mina* of wool. McEwan (ROMCT 2, p. 61) translates *daššīia* as "messenger." According to Zadok (1976a, p. 5; cf. Idem 1984c, p. 73),

"this title possibly reflects Iran. \**daši-* or \**dašya-*, 'expert.'" Cf., however, Stolper 1987, p. 397, n. 36.

79. Bagā (Ba-ga-a, BE 9, 74: 3,11; PBS 2/1, 122:9), son of Aḫratuš (q.v.), an Areian (BE 9, 74:8 LU ar-ú-ma-a-a) who held a bow fief in Šalammu near Nippur in 425–418 B.C. Both texts testify that the Murašû firm paid him an annual rent for his land. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 53: a shortened form of the name containing the Old Persian component *baga-*, "god."

80. Bagabīnaši (<sup>f</sup>Ba-ga-bi-i-na-ši, Dar. 473:1), daughter of Puḫḫuru, son of Nergal-iddin. She was a party to a contract drafted in Šahrinu, a suburb of Babylon, in 504 B.C. The first component of her name seems to be Iranian *baga-*, "god," but her patronymic is Babylonian.

81. Bagabigna (Ba-ga-bi-gi-in, PBS 2/1 107:17, L.E.), whose son Tattannu was an overseer of the *šušānu* workmen dependent on the royal administration and who settled in the neighborhood of Nippur in the second half of the fifth century B.C. Probably he was an Iranian who gave his son a Semitic name. Cf. Hinz in ASN, p. 163 s.v. Mazdābigna-; Zadok 1977, p. 103, n. 130.

82. Bagadāta-, an Iranian name (\*Baga-dāta-, for literature see Hinz in ASN, pp. 54f.), attested for many persons. In a number of cases scribes put the divine determinative before this name.

a) Ba-ga-da-a-tú (TCL 13, 193:32), whose son Atarbanuš (q.v.) was a judge in Babylon in 504 B.C.

b) DINGIR.MEŠ-da-a-ta (Stigers, p. 40, no. 28:5). The second component (*-dāta*) of the name is certainly Iranian. Zadok (1979b, pp. 152f.) thinks that DINGIR.MEŠ (literally "gods") may render the Old Iranian \*Baga- which "is to be understood as the OIran. term for "God" and not as a proper divine name." Thus, the name probably can be read as Baga-dāta ("given by the God").

The document, drafted in 491 B.C. in Ecbatana, records a transaction among several Babylonians, who probably came from the city of Sippar in Mesopotamia. A certain Bunene-ibni lent 35 shekels of silver to

Taddinnu on condition that DINGIR.MEŠ-dāta and Kalbija, who regularly did business with the contracting parties, would pay 22 *kur* (3,960 liters) of dates to the creditor in the vicinity of Sippar (cf. Stolper 1984, p. 308, n. 34; Dandamayev 1986a, pp. 118f.).

c) Ba-ag-da-tum (Dar. 253:13; the name is spelled without the masculine determinative). The document—drafted in 513 B.C., probably in Babylon—tells that three Babylonians went to a locality named after Bagdātu to carry out their royal military service. Zadok (1977, p. 94) supposes that it was a manor “perhaps situated near Babylon.”

d) Ba-ga-da-du (EKBK 31:15), a Babylonian whose son witnessed a promissory note in the town of Manaḥu in the 40th regnal year of Artaxerxes (425 B.C. or 365 B.C.). His son's name is Babylonian but is only partly preserved.

e) Ba-ga-da-du (CT 44, 81:5), probably a temple slave in Borsippa. His sons were named Attaluš (q.v.) and Šihā (an Egyptian name). Cf. Zadok 1977, p. 99.

All the other bearers of this name are referred to in the Murašû documents.

f) Ba-ga-a'-da-a-ta/tu/tú (BE 9, 18:2,3; PBS 2/1, 97:3; 158:25, Lo.E.), holder of a bow fief near Nippur. He is referred to in documents drafted in 435–420 B.C. Apparently, he was an Iranian and for this reason is mentioned without patronymic.

g) Ba-ga-a'-da-a-tú (PBS 2/1, 192:19 U.E.), whose son Bagazuštu (q.v., b) witnessed a rent payment in Nippur in 422 B.C. His patronymic is also Iranian.

h) Ba-ga-a'-da-ta-a' (PBS 2/1, 84:13; <sup>d</sup>Ba-ga-a'-da-ti, *ibid.* 104:9), father of Ḥarmaḥi, a witness referred to in Nippur in 419 B.C.

i) Ba-ga-a'-da-a-tú (BE 9, 74:7; BE 10, 66:3,9, R; PBS 2/1, 122:3; EEMA 47:5), son of Kakā (q.v., c) and brother of Tīridāta (q.v., b). He held a bow fief in Šalammu, near Nippur. He is listed among eight Arian soldiers, most having Iranian names and patronymics, in documents drafted from 425 through 418 B.C. He rented his land to the Murašû firm for money, flour, beer, and rams.

j) Ba-ga-a'-da-a-tú (EEMA 109:6), a slave (*ardu*) of Ispitāma' (s.v. Ispitammu, b). In 424 B.C. in Nippur, a slave of the Persian prince Aršāma complained to the “satrap,” Ispitāma', and Baga'dātu that a

member of the Murašû house and persons dependent on him had plundered his property. Apparently this Baga'dātu was of Iranian descent.

k) Ba-ga-a'-da-a-tú/tum (PBS 2/1, 192:7, U.E.), father of Bēl-ēreš. The latter was a holder of a bow fief in Nippur in 422 B.C. Apparently, he was a Babylonian.

l) Ba-ga-a'-da-a-ta-a' (BE 10, 9:1,9,13,17,18,22,29), son of Bēl-nādin. In 423 B.C. in Nippur, he claimed that Enlil-šum-iddin, a member of the Murašû house, together with his slaves and agents and some residents of Nippur, had destroyed some houses and plundered Baga'dāta's property, had carried away silver and gold, and had driven away his cattle and sheep. Enlil-šum-iddin assured Baga'dāta' that neither he, his slaves, nor the residents of Nippur had disturbed the property. But the robbery apparently had taken place, for Enlil-šum-iddin promised to pay a very high compensation—350 *kur* (63,000 liters) of barley, 5 *kur* (900 liters) of wheat, 1 *kur* (180 liters) of emmer, 100 vessels of beer, 200 *kur* (36,000 liters) of dates, 20 oxen, and 5 talents (150 kilograms) of wool—in return for Bagadāta's not pressing charges against Enlil-šum-iddin, his slaves, or the residents of Nippur.

His patronymic indicates that this Bagadāta' was a Babylonian. He was an *ustarbaru* (LÚ *us-ta-ri-ba-ri*, l. 1) official. This title was considered in detail by W. Eilers, who derives it from the Old Persian \**vistar-bara-*, "carpet bearer" (IBKU, pp. 81–106; cf. also AHW, p. 1438). Eilers thought that the *ustarbaru* were concerned with the comforts of the king on campaign, stretching soft Persian rugs under him. They also used whips to clear the road of undesirable persons. Hinz assumes that this title is the Median word \**vastrabara-*: "Gewandträger" (ASN, p. 258). Except BM 52205 (IBKU, pl. III; the date is broken off) which comes from Babylon, all other texts mentioning this title belong to the Murašû archive and were drafted in the second half of the fifth century B.C. in Nippur. (One of these documents, BE 10, 15, was written in Babylon and then brought to Nippur). More than twenty persons are designated as *ustarbaru* officials. Most were Babylonians, but several were Iranians (Bagamīhī, Tīridāta, etc.) and one an Egyptian (Paṭan-<sup>d</sup>Esi, see BE 10, 15:15). Usually they acted as witnesses, and their title seems to have been rather insignificant. One *ustarbaru*, Bēl-ittannu by name, sold five slaves (PBS 2/1, 65). The

*ustarbaru* of the king (BE 10, 2:18; 15:15-16; PBS 2/1, 43:3, etc.) are also mentioned, as well as *ustarbaru* of the queen Parysatis (PBS 2/1, 38:Lo. E) and of some officials (*paqdu*; see BE 10, 129:5-6).

m) Ba-ga-a'-da-a-tú (BE 10, 111:12, L.E.), whose son Bēl-nādin was a "foreman of the Areians" (line 11: LÚ *šak-nu šá* LÚ *ar-ú-ma-a-a*) who held bow fiefs in the Nippur region. In 418 B.C. the Murašû firm paid a rental for these lands. It is possible that this Baga'dātu was identical with *l* above. If so, he gave his son the name of his father, Bēl-nādin.

n) Ba-ga-da-a-tú/tum (PBS 2/1, 13:4; 51:4; EEMA 36:4), whose son Nanā-iddin was one of the Areian soldiers who rented his bow fief near Nippur to the Murašû firm in 432 and 423-422 B.C. His rent was paid in money.

o) Ba-ga-a'-da-a-ti (BE 9, 65:3), man for whom a place was named (URU Bit Ba-ga-a'-da-a-ti; see for literature Zadok 1985a, p. 83).

83. Bagadenu (Ba-gi-de-nu, Mélanges Dussaud, p. 929, pl. III, B, rev. 11:7), an "Elamite" (LÚ NIM.MAKI-ú) who lived at the court of Nebuchadnezzar II in Babylon in the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. The text records oil rations issued to him and to other Elamites. But his name is Iranian: see Zadok 1976d, p. 62: \*Baga-daina-, "having (i.e., following) бага's religion."

84. Baga-ḥaja, an Iranian name also attested in Elamite texts from Persepolis as Ba-qa-ke-ya (Hallock in PF, p. 672). On the etymology see Gershevitch, p. 215; Mayrhofer in OnP 8.198; Hinz in ASN, p. 56.

a) Ba-ga-ḥa-a-a (OECT 10, 192:4,7,14), a steward (LÚ *rab bīti*) of a private person. Three *kur*, two *pān*, and three *sūt* (ca. 630 liters) of a were issued through him as rent for a field and as "royal tax" (line 3: *bilat šarri*). The document was drafted in Kish in the fourth regnal year of Artaxerxes (i.e., 461 B.C. if Artaxerxes I is meant) and sealed with Baga-ḥaja's seal. His son Šammû (q.v.) also witnessed the payment. The patronymic of Baga-ḥaja is not given, typical of references to foreigners.

b) Ba-ga-ḥa-a-a. whose son Arbuka' (q.v.) witnessed a lease of cattle (Kelsey Museum 8133:14, unpublished).

85. Bagaina. Cf. Ba-ke-na in Elamite tablets from Persepolis; see Mayrhofer in OnP 8.225; Hinz in ASN, p. 61 (\*Bagina-); Zadok 1977, p. 94 (\*Bagaina-).

a) Ba-ga-a'-in (BE 8, 107:19). A document regarding money accounts for 2 minas 40 shekels of silver was drafted in Babylon in 516 B.C. before this Bagaina and six Babylonians, all judges. Zadok (1977, p. 93) considers him "the first Persian judge in Babylonia."

b) Ba-ga-a'-i-na-a' (BE 9, 76:2), apparently a Babylonian with an Iranian name. His son Nidintu-Enlil is referred to as a lessor in 425 B.C. in Nippur.

c) Ba-ga-a'-i-na-a' (BE 9, 76:3,7; EEMA 39:2), Ba-ga-a-na-a' (BE 9, 76: Lo.E.), Ba-ge-en-na-a' (BE 10, 70:17), a son of Zimaka' (q.v.) and owner of land near Nippur in 425 B.C. He probably belonged to a group of Indian soldiers. In any case, Bagazuštu, a "foreman of the Indians," is referred to as a witness in BE 9, 76:11.

d) Ba-ge-nu (VAS 3, 138/139:13/12), son of Atrata' (q.v.). In 496 B.C. in Babylon he witnessed a document regarding rations of the *gardu* workmen, the magi, and some palace officials.

86. Bagajāzu, the Old Persian \*Bagayāza-. For literature see Hinz in ASN, p. 61; Zadok 1976d, p. 67, n. 62.

a) Ba-gi-i'-a-zu (YOS 6, 169:20/ 231:24). Two duplicate documents drafted on 14 Du'ūzu in the seventeenth regnal year of Nabonidus, less than three months before the Persian conquest of Babylonia in 539 B.C., tell that several sheep belonging to the Eanna temple in Uruk had been stolen and that the temple assembly had made a decision regarding compensation. The document was written before several officials, including a "royal commissioner" (LÚ *rēš šarri*) named Bagi'āzu, apparently a royal official sent to the Eanna temple. In contrast to the other officials, his patronymic is not given, since in Babylonian documents aliens are usually referred to by their proper names and titles. He was probably a descendant of a Mede who had lived at the court of Nebuchadnezzar II in Babylon (Mélanges Dussaud, p. 930).

b) Ba-gi-ia-a-zu (BE 9, 11:1,3,6,7; cf. *ibid.*, line 10 where the name is spelled Ba-gi-ia-a-nu), son of Pāpaku (q.v.) and owner of a field near

Nippur rented to the Murašû firm. In 437 B.C., he was paid 50 *kur* (9,000 liters) of barley through two of his slaves, one of whom bore the Iranian name Parnauhti' (q.v.).

c) Ba-gi-i'-a-zu (BE 10, 100: 8, U.E.), Ba-ga-ia-a-zu (PBS 2/1, 67: 5,9,R), whose son Tattannu (a Semitic name) owned a field near Nippur in 421 B.C. (PBS 2/1, 67). In a text from 419 B.C. (BE 10, 100:7, U.E.) he is called a "foreman of the Areians" (LÚ *šak-nu šá* LÚ *ar-ú-ma-a-a*). His land was in Bīt Tabalāja, near Nippur.

87. Bagakamu (Ba-ga-a-ka-mu, Hecker, 47:12), whose son Artamissa witnessed a promissory note in Ḫumadēšu in 523 B.C. On the etymology see Zadok 1976d, p. 77 (with previous literature): \*Baga-kāma-, "following God's (or Baga's) wish."

Bagakanna. See Pagakanna.

88. Bagamasta (Ba-ga-mas-ta, CT 49, 5:2), father of a man with a Babylonian theophorous name that is partly broken off. In 328 B.C. in Babylon, his son was issued two minas of silver from the Esagila temple. On the etymology see Zadok 1977, p. 127, with n. 369: \*Baga-masti-?, "having Baga's knowledge." V. Livshits prefers to derive the name from \*Bagavasta-, "he who is welcome to God."

89. Bagamma' (Ba-ga-am?-ma-a', Kelsey Museum 8133:16, unpublished), whose son [...] -ḫa-ka-a', witnessed a lease of cattle.

90. Bagamihi. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 57 (with previous literature); cf. Zadok 1977, p. 101 (\*Baga-Miθra-). Cf. s.v. Arbamiḫri.

a) Ba-ga-a'-mi-ḫi/ḫa-a' (BE 9, 50:1,8,10,R), an *ustarbaru* official (cf. s.v. Bagadātu I). In 429 B.C. in Nippur the Murašû firm paid him through his agent 100 *kur* (18,000 liters) of barley and 400 *kur* (72,000 liters) of dates as provisions for twenty-five "royal soldiers" (line 4: LÚ *šābē šarri*), as well as 10 vessels of beer, 10 rams, 5 ewes, and 10 goats as annual rent for land in four places belonging to "the house of the court lady" (line 4: É MÍ šá É. GAL).

b) Ba-ga-a'-miḥ-i' (BE 9, 23:22). A receipt for rent on bow fiefs was drafted in 435 B.C. before him, the governor (LÚ *šaknu*) of Nippur, and some other persons. His father probably had a Babylonian name ([...]-AN.MEŠ). He may have been identical with Bagamiḥi *a*.

91. Bagamīri. The name was pronounced Bagavīra (the Old Persian \*Baga-vīra-) and is also known from the Elamite Persepolis tablets in the forms Ba-ku-mi-ra, Ba-qa-mi-ra. See Eilers 1936, p. 184; Benveniste 1958, p. 53; Hinz in ASN, p. 60.

a) <sup>d</sup>Ba-ga-a'-a-mi-[ri] (CT 22, 244:14). This text is a letter sent in the reign of Darius I to an official of the Ezida temple and to the "citizens of Borsippa" informing them that ten ships had been loaded with 1,600 *kur* (288,000 liters) of barley. Then in a broken context the letter says that these ten ships (?) were sent at Bagamīri's disposal. In conclusion, the sender of the letter requests that he be informed through a certain Bēl-ittannu if Bagamīri were to order royal corvée work performed (lines 17-18: *dul-lu šá šarri*).

b) Ba-ga-a'-ú-mi-ir (BM 54205:13, see Eilers in IBKU, pp. 107f.), commander of the Persian garrison in Babylon. The document itself was drafted before four judges and Bagamīri, "commander of the fort" (*rab birti*). The date is broken off. (For details see s.v. Tīridāta *a*) An unnamed "commander of the fortress" (*rab dūri*) is also referred to in CT 22, 74. This letter, which belongs to the reign of Darius I, contains the complaint of a certain Guzānu that the commander of the fortress held back some cavalry-men subordinated to Guzānu without even informing the latter. Eilers assumes that Bagamīri *a* and *b* as well as the unnamed commander of the fortress in CT 22, 74 were the same person (Eilers 1936, pp. 185f.).

c) Ba-ga-a'-a-mir-ri (BE 9, 106:4,9), Ba-ga-a'-mir-ri (BE 10, 50:5, R: PBS 2/1, 192:3, 12), son of Aspa'dasta (q.v., an Iranian name). According to BE 9, 106, in 424 B.C. in Nippur he and Bagiešu, another Iranian, received thirty shekels of silver, 1 *pān* 4 *sū* (60 liters) of flour, a vessel of beer, and a ram from the Murašû firm as annual rent on bow lands in Kār-Ninurta, near Nippur. His nail impression has been preserved on the tablet. Apparently, this Baga'mīri was a foreman of holders of bow lands. The next year in Nippur he and a certain Bēlšunu



were issued thirty shekels of silver and a vessel of beer by the Murašû firm as rent for the same fiefs. The receipt was drafted before three judges of the Sîn canal district, two of whom (Urudātu and Ištabuzana', q.v.) bore Iranian names (BE 10, 50). Finally, PBS 2/1, 192, drafted in 422 B.C. in Nippur, records the payment of rent to Bagamīri and Bēlšunu by the Murašû firm on bow lands. The amount is the same as in BE 9, 106.

d) Ba-ga-a'-mi-i-ri (BE 9, 48 = TMH 2/3, 144:1, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 33a, 36), son of Mitradāta (q.v., a). In 429 B.C. in Nippur, he rented two cultivated grain fields and "residential houses in (the locality of) Galia" to the Murašû firm for a term of sixty years. The fields—one of which he had inherited from his paternal uncle Rušundāti (q.v., a)—were on the Sîn and Šilihtu canals next to the field of the Iranian Rušunpāti (q.v., a). The agents of the Murašû firm paid the entire rent—1,200 *kur* (216,000 liters) of dates—when the contract was signed and undertook to turn all the leased fields into orchards. If before the end of the contract Baga'mīri were to take away his lands from the Murašû firm, he would pay one talent (30 kg) of silver in compensation for the work done there. If any claims arose concerning these lands, Baga'mīri was to settle them. Baga'mīri's nail impression was placed on the tablet "instead of his seal." The contract was drafted in the presence of Esagil-bēlit, daughter of Bēl-ittannu and Baga'mīri's mother. Thus, Baga'mīri was a son of the Iranian Mitradāta and a nephew of Rušundāti on his father's side and son of Esagil-bēlit and grandson of Bēl-ittannu on the mother's side.

92. Bagamišu (Ba-ga-mi-šú, VAS 5, 118:21), a witness to a contract of sale for a slave woman in Dur- [...] at the beginning of Xerxes' reign (482 B.C. ?). He bore the title LU *pa-di-i* which, to judge from the context, might be translated as an "official in charge of law" since two judges are also referred to as witnesses. On the etymology see Zadok 1977, p. 95: \*Bagam-iša- ("seeking God") or \*Baga-viša-.

Bagapa'. See Baga-pāna b.

Baga'pada. See Bagapāta.

93. Bagapaios, a son of Artaxerxes I and a brother of Parysatis by the Babylonian concubine Andia (König 1972, p. 18, no. 44; cf. Zadok 1977, p. 97).

94. Bagapāna. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 57 (with previous literature): \*Baga-pāna- ("Gottesschutz").

a) Ba-ga-a-pa-na (Camb. 316:3,7,11). This damaged document, drafted in 524 B.C., records rent paid to Bagapāna by several persons, including an Egyptian (line 2: LÚ *mi-šir-a-a*). The payment was made according to the Persian measure *artaba* (lines 6,9,14,18: *ar-da-bi*): 424 *artabas* of some product (the context is here broken off) had been paid as rent for lands in Bāb-Nār-Šamaš and Zamarkime (possibly near Sippar) and more than fifteen *artabas* were still to be paid. Cf. Zadok 1981/1982, p. 137.

According to CAD (A/II, p. 241), *ardabu* was a "loan word from Aram. *ardab*, itself probably from an Old Persian word." It is more likely, however, that at such an early period as Cambyses' reign this word was borrowed by Akkadian directly from Old Persian. *Ardabi* is also attested in a Babylonian document of the Seleucid period (CT 49, 40), according to which a paymaster of the brewers was ordered to issue a certain quantity of dates "by the *artaba*-measure (of the god) Nabû" (line 6: GIŠ *ar-da-bi*; cf. McEwan 1981, p. 35, n. 108). *Artaba* contained ca. thirty liters. The word is known also from Aramaic, Greek, Egyptian, and Elamite texts of the Achaemenid period in the forms of *ardab*, *artabē*, *irtiba*, etc. (For literature see Zimmern, p. 22; Driver in AD, pp. 68f.; Hinz 1973, pp. 33 and 101; this word is even attested in Old Russian).

b) Ba-ga-a-pa-a' (Stigers, p. 36, no. 22: 7,14), spelled thus instead of as Bagapāna (Zadok 1977, p. 138). He is called LÚ *pa-ḥa-<tum>* NUN.KI (line 7), i.e., "the governor of Babylon." The document was drafted in 503 B.C. in the town of Gišši (location unknown). A slave of Bagapā', Nidintu by name, bought a female slave from Uzā (q.v.) for 2 minas 5 shekels of silver—a very high price. Zadok (1977, p. 138) assumes that we have here "a hitherto unattested satrap of Babylonia," who succeeded Uštānu and preceded Zopyros. This Bagapāna' apparently was identical with Megapanos, who, according to Herodotus

(7,62), became governor of Babylon after the Persian-Greek wars (Zadok 1977, pp. 96f.; cf. Stolper 1987, p. 396).

c) Ba-ga-pa-nu (BE 9, 54:2), whose son Tīrakam (q.v.) owned a storehouse in Nippur in 428 B.C.

d) Bagaphanes. According to Curtius (5,1,44), he was the last Persian treasurer in Babylon, who delivered the fortress of Babylon to Alexander the Great.

95. Bagapāta (from the Old Persian \*Baga-pāta-, "protected by God"; cf. also Bagapatēs in Greek sources, BGPT in Aramaic texts, Bakabada in Elamite tablets from Persepolis; for references see Mayrhofer in OnP, 8.185).

a) Ba-ga-pa-a-ta (Dar. 301:17), son of Pirmizdi. In Babylon in 511 B.C. he witnessed a marriage contract between a certain Patmi-ustû (probably an Egyptian) and Taḥima-ušaḥtu, the daughter of Sammanapir (who may have been an Elamite). Other witnesses included a royal official (*rēš šarri*) of Aramean descent, the Egyptian Amunutapunaḥti, several Babylonians, and another Iranian. Zadok reads the name of Bagapāta's father as Pi-sa-mi-is-ki (Zadok 1977, p. 94); cf., however, s.v. Pirmizdi.

b) <sup>d</sup>Ba-ga-pa-da (Ungnad 1960, p. 78, no. 28 = Amherst 253:19), whose son Aḥšēti (q.v., b) witnessed a promissory note drafted in Babylon in 500 B.C.

c) Ba-ga-a'-pa-da (Pinches 1891/1892, p. 134:6), son of Nabû-zēr-iddin. He bought two slave women of Iranian descent in Ḥumadēšu in the seventh regnal year of an unnamed king, probably Cambyses (523 B.C.). Zadok (1976d, p. 73) thinks that this Bagapāta was "a descendant of Egibi's bearing an Iranian name." He evidently was a Babylonian.

d) Ba-ga-a'-pa-a-tú (BE 10, 53:25, Lo.E.; 70:7); <sup>d</sup>Ba-ga-pa-a-tum! (PBS 2/1, 4:17); Ba-ga-pa-a-tum (ibid. 16:17), whose son Bagazuštu (q.v., c) was a foreman of the Indian soldiers in the Nippur region in 423-417 B.C.

96. Bagarapa (Ba-ga-ra-ap-[p]a, BE 10, 15:19; Ba-gi-ra-ap, ibid. 15: Lo.E.), son of Ūnat (q.v. d). He was an *uštābari* official who witnessed

the lease of a royal manor near Nippur by the Murašû firm. The contract itself was drafted in Babylon in 423 B.C. On the name see Zadok 1977, p. 98: \*Baga-rapa- "serving Baga."

His title LU ūš-ta-ba-ri is attested only in BE 10, 15:20. Referring to M. Mayrhofer, von Soden (AHw, p. 1442) interprets this title "nach Weisung hegend"? Cf. also Hüsing, p. 42; Hinz in ASN, p. 247 ("Kamelreiter"? or otherwise "nach Wunsch reitend"). According to a personal communication from V. Livshits, it is hardly possible to accept the translation "Kamelreiter," since the Old Persian word for "camel" was *uša-*, cf. *uṣabāri-* ("camel-borne," i.e., camel rider) in the Behistun inscription (Kent, p. 178). It seems that "nach Wunsch reitend" is possible from the philological point of view; however, such a translation does not make any good sense for a title. Perhaps V. Livshits is right offering to translate *uṣtabāri-* as "driver of oxen" (cf. Old Persian \**uštā-*, "ox," Old Indian *uṣṭā-* with the same meaning).

97. Bagaruš (<sup>d</sup>Ba-ga-ru-uš, Dar. 82:5; the name is written with the divine determinative but without the masculine one), owner of a house (?) in Babylon in 519 B.C. (cf. CAD M/II, p. 297 s.v. *mūtaqu*). On the etymology see Zadok 1977, p. 94: \*Baga-rauča- (with previous literature).

98. Bagasaru. The same name appears also in Aramaic papyri from Egypt dated in the fifth century B.C. See Eilers 1936, p. 169, n. 2. Idem 1957/1958, p. 332; Driver in AD, pp. 62 and 103; Zadok 1976d, p. 77: \*Baga-srava- "having glory from God."

a) Ba-ga-a'-sa-ru-ú (Dar. 296:2), Ba-ag-sa-ru-ú (ibid., 105:2,4), Ba-ga-sa-ru-ú (ibid., 534:3; 542:6), Ba-aq-qa-su-ru-ú (ibid., 527:4). These five legal and business documents dated in the reign of Darius I mention the Iranian Bagasaru, probably a Persian or a Mede. In the earliest document (Dar. 105), drafted in 518 B.C., he is called LU *rab-kāširi*. In Dar. 534 and 542 from 500 B.C., which are duplicates, he is referred to without any title. Finally, in Dar. 296 (511 B.C.) and Dar. 527 (501 B.C.) he is designated as LU *ganzabaru* "treasurer." Do these records refer to one person or to two or even three different men? According to Dar. 105, drafted in Bīt rab-kāširi, a place in or near Babylon, Bēl-ēṭir, a

slave of Bagasaru, was ordered by Piššīia, Bagasaru's manager (LÚ *rab bīti*), to collect seventy measures of onions as the rent for a field belonging to Bagasaru. Dar. 296, drafted in Babylon, tells that two individuals delivered 170 *kur* of barley, 4 *kur* of wheat (in all, 31,320 liters) and some measures of cress salad (*sahlû*) as the rent due to Bagasaru for the eleventh regnal year of Darius I. Dar. 527 records the payment of rent on the land of Bagasaru, the *rab-kāširi*. A third of this rent was to be paid to Bagasaru *ganzabaru* and the rest to Marduk-nāšir-apli and his brothers, members of the Egibi business house. The tablet was drafted at Bīt-ṭābi-Bēl, a suburb of Babylon. Eight months later in Dar. 542 (cf. Dar. 534) Piššīja, the steward of Bagasaru, orders Nabû-gallibi, a slave of the latter, to collect 15 *kur* (2,250 liters) of dates as "the share of Bagasaru" from the Egibi house.

Clearly, these documents refer to one person, one Bagasaru who occupied the office of *rab-kāširi*, or *ganzabaru* in Babylon for at least eighteen years, from 518 to 500 B.C. Though the earliest of document calls him *rab-kāširi* and two later tablets call him *ganzabaru*, the terms are used in Dar. 527 (lines 2 and 5) as synonyms since the text indicates that the rental payment was to be delivered to *rab-kāširi*, namely to Bagasaru, the *ganzabaru*. He owned land near Babylon and leased it to different persons, including the Egibi business house, and was paid in onions, dates, barley, wheat, etc.

After the Persian conquest of Babylonia in 539 B.C., an Iranian named Mithradāta (q.v. Mitradāta *e*) became the chief of the royal treasury (GZBR), in all probability Bagasaru was one of his successors (cf. Dandamayev 1968, pp. 235ff.).

*Ganzabaru* ("treasurer") is an Old Iranian (to be exact, a Median) loan-word (\**ganza-bara-*) which is also known from Elamite, Aramaic, Greek, Lycian, and many other sources of the Achaemenid and later periods (Eilers in IBKU, p. 43 and 123f.; AHW, p. 281; CAD G, p. 43; Cameron in PTT, pp. 42f.; Hinz in ASN, p. 102; Greenfield, pp. 180ff.). Since the Babylonian *rab-kāširi* and the Old Persian *ganzabaru* are used synonymously in the documents under discussion, we may be able to establish the exact meaning of *rab-kāširi* and throw a fresh light on the function of a *ganzabaru*. As seen from the tablets of the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods, the *rab-kāširi* was a state

official who collected, stored, and supplied money, wool, and other goods (Dandamayev 1968, pp. 236–239; cf. CAD K, pp. 264f.: *kāširu*—“a craftsman producing textiles” and “an official of low rank in a household”; *rab-kāširi*—“head of the *kāširu*-officials;” the compilers of CAD failed to notice that *rab-kāširi* and *ganzabaru* are used as synonyms in Babylonian documents dated in the reign of Darius I). In other words, the functions of a *rab-kāširi* were identical to those of a *ganzabaru*, who was engaged in collecting, checking, sealing, storing, and supplying goods for official purposes. It seems that the treasury of the Achaemenid kings contained not only gold, silver, elephant tusks, vessels made of precious metals, weapons, and carpets but also grain, wine, oil, cattle, garments, and so on.

In two Babylonian texts of Hellenistic times the title *ganzabara ša bīt ilāni* is referred to. These were financial officials in the temples of Uruk (McEwan 1981, pp. 34 and 64). Several texts from Nisa mention ‘LGZ’ MLK’ (“royal *ganzabaru*”) in connection with deliveries of wine and possibly of wheat (V. Livshits, personal communication).

b) <sup>d</sup>Ba-ga-a’-sa-ru-[ú] (VAS 6, 302:6), mentioned in a broken context. The date is broken off.

c) Ba-ga-a’-si-ru-u’ (Pinches 1891/1892, p. 134:11), son of Humagammu (q.v.). He witnessed a slave sale contract drafted in Humadēšu in 523 B.C.

d) Ba-ga-sa!-ru-ú (OECT 10, 151:7; von Soden 1986, p. 156). In 496 B.C. he received twenty shekels of silver as rent for his land in Bīt-Kudurri (possibly near Kish).

99. Ba-ga-tar-[...]-ḥu-šu (UET 4, 67:12), whose son Bēl-ittannu witnessed a promissory note in 365 B.C. in Ur. The first component of his name apparently is *baga*-.

Bagaurū (Ba-ga-ú-ru-ú, OECT 10, 151:7). See Bagasaru *d*.

100. Bagazuštu. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 61 (with previous literature): \*Bagazušta- “von Gott geliebt.”

a) Ba-ga-zu-uš-tum/tú (Ungnad 1960, p. 79, Amherst 258:4.12), one of the highly placed Iranians sent to Borsippa to carry out an

important inspection. This tablet records that he was issued a jug of wine. The text also mentions his slave, who had a Babylonian name.

b) Ba-ga-(a')-zu-uš-tum (PBS 2/1, 192:18, U.E.), son of Baga'dāta, who witnessed rent paid in Nippur in 422 B.C. The tablet contains an impression of his "iron seal ring."

c) <sup>d</sup>Ba-ga-zu-uš-tú (PBS 2/1, 4:17), Ba-ga-(a')-zu-uš-tú/tum (BE 10, 53:24, Lo. E.; 70:6,R; PBS 2/1, 16:17, L.E.; 135:25, L.E.; 137:15; EEMA 39:5; TMH 2/3, 190:14; 191:16), son of Bagapāta. He is mentioned in documents from Nippur in 423-417 B.C. as a foreman of the Indian soldiers (BE 10, 53:Lo.E., etc.: LÚ *šak-nu šá* LÚ *in-du-ú-ma-a-a*) and a witness to rent payments by the Murašû firm. The documents are sealed with his "bronze seal ring." TMH 2/3, 190 is of special interest since it records rent paid for a field belonging to the Persian prince Arrišittu (q.v.). Along with Bagazuštu, some documents (see e.g. TMH 2/3, 191:14-15) mention one more foreman of the Indian soldiers, Aplā, son of Bēl-ētir.

d) Ba-ga-a'-zu-uš-tum (TMH 2/3, 147:25), whose son Mitradātu (q.v.) witnessed a rental payment in Nippur in 420 B.C.

e) Ba-ga-a'-zu-uš-tum (BE 9, 76:11), son of Parurē (q.v.), a witness of rent paid in Nippur in 425 B.C. He was a foreman of the Indian soldiers (probably preceding Bagazuštu c in this post).

101. Ba-ga-[...](LBFP, no. 6), owner of a field near Babylon (?) in 487 B.C.

Bagenna'. See Bagaina.

102. Bagēsu (Ba-ge-e-su, YOS 7, 149:8), owner of a manor near Uruk in 527 B.C. On the etymology see Grantovskij, p. 316: \*Baga-isa-.

103. Bagēšu. On the etymology see Zadok 1977, p. 96: \*Baga-aiša-, "God's seeking." Cf. Ba-ki-iš in Elamite documents from Persepolis (for literature see Mayrhofer in OnP 8:230).

a) Ba-gi-šu (UET 4, 99:1,3,6). This document, drafted in Ur in 494 B.C., tells that a Babylonian (Nidintu-Šamaš) was to pay Bagišu four *kur* (720 liters) of barley at a specified time according to Bagišu's

measure and through his steward (LU *rab būi*), probably as rent for a field. This Bagišu bore the title LU *ú-zu-ut-ta-bar-ra*. With a reference to Mayrhofer, von Soden (AHw, p. 1448) derives it from the Old Persian *\*uzūta-bara-*, "Geschütztes hegend?" Zadok's derivation of it from the Old Iranian *\*vi-sūta-bara-*, "interest collector" is more plausible (Zadok 1977, p. 96).

b) Ba-gi-e-šu (BE 9, 106:2,8,16), son of Keprada' (q.v.), holder of a bow fief leased to the Murašû firm in Nippur in 424 B.C. He belonged to the Achaemenian military colony. His nail impression is preserved on the tablet.

c) Ba-gi-e-šú (EEMA 34:7, 10), whose slave Gukka' was issued twenty shekels of silver by the Murašû firm as rent for a field in 417 B.C. The actual recipient was probably Bagēšu himself.

Bagi'azu. See Bagajāzu *a*.

Bagiānu. See Bagajāzu *b*.

104. Bagindū (Ba-gi-in-du-u/ú, *Mélanges Dussaud*, p. 926:15, 18), an "inhabitant of the country of Parsumaš" (KUR *Par-su-maš-a-a*), one of the aliens at Nebuchadnezzar's court in Babylon mentioned in the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. This name might not be Iranian.

Baginu. See Bagaina.

105. Bagistanes, said to have been a noble Babylonian who told Alexander the Great the whereabouts of Darius III (Arrian 3,21,1 and 3; Curtius 5,13,3). However, his name is Iranian (*\*Baga-stāna-*, see Justi in INB, p. 59; Zadok 1977, p. 100).

106. Bagoas, a eunuch at the court of Artaxerxes III and Darius III. According to Theophrastus (*De historia plantarum* 2,6,7), Bagoas—probably the same man—had a garden near Babylon planted with an especially good variety of date palm. Plutarch (Alex. 39) narrates that Alexander the Great gave Bagoas' house—which contained, among other things, clothes worth a thousand talents of silver—to Parmenion.



This house may have been in Babylon. Perhaps *Bagoas* renders the Iranian *Bagāya*-.

107. Bagophanes, Persian commander of the fortifications and custodian of the royal treasury in Babylon (Curtius 5,1,20 and 44). He defected from Darius III to Alexander. This name may be a corruption of \*Bagafarnes.

108. Bagundu (Ba-gu-un-du, YOS 7, 99:9), son of A-mur-re-e-a, a witness to a promissory note drafted in Babylon in 530 B.C. His patronymic is not Iranian so he was probably a Babylonian. Zadok derives this names from the Old Iranian \**Bagāvanta*-, referring also to *Bakunda* in Elamite tablets from Persepolis (Zadok 1976d, p. 67 with n. 60; Idem 1977, p. 92).

109. Bānade'u (Ba-na-de-e'-ú, BE 10, 72:5), whose son Iamma' (q.v.) was the owner in 421 B.C. of a field located near Nippur. See Zadok 1976c, p. 67: \**Bāna-daiva*-, "hurting daeva-s," but such an etymology seems dubious.

Bardiya. See Barziya.

110. Barēna' (Ba-re-e-na-a', PBS 2/1, 25:5), a foreman of some immigrants (*baktu*) in the Nippur region. He is mentioned, without patronymic, in a promissory note drafted in 423 B.C. in Nippur, for 117 1/2 *kur* (ca. 21,150 liters) of dates to be paid by immigrant holders of bow lands to the Murašû firm. See Zadok 1977, p. 104: \**Baraina*-.

Barragušu. See Paragušu.

111. Barzienna (Bar-zi-en-na, CT 22, 73: 20), apparently a highly placed Persian official. In an undated letter, probably sent at the end of the sixth century B.C. to Sippar, a certain Puršu wrote to a person whose name has been destroyed instructing that certain people should deliver some barley. In order to make sure that they did so, the addressee was to inform "the manager" and "the governor of the city" (line 23: LU *ú-mar*

(!)-*za-ra-pa-ia*), one Iddin-Nergal, a typical Babylonian name. The letter mentions a messenger of Barzienna (Barzenna). On the name see Zadok 1977, p. 95 (with previous literature): "an *-aina-* patronymic of \**Bṛza-*." *Umarzanapāta* is the Old Persian title \**varzana-pati-*, "chief of city" (cf. AHW, p. 1447).

112. Barziya (Bar-zi-ia, BE 10, 100:2; GCCI II, 132:9, etc.; Bar-di-ia, Leichty and Grayson, nos. 67412 and 67516; except these two texts where his name is spelled in its original Old Persian form as Bardiya, in all other Babylonian tablets it has been attested only in its Median form, Barziya; cf. Kent, p. 200: *Bṛdiya-*, "The Exalted").

According to the official version given in the Behistun inscription, he was Gaumata the Magian, who pretended to be Cyrus' son Bardiya. He was recognized as a legitimate ruler, and Babylonian legal and business documents are dated in his reign from 14 April to 20 September 522 B.C. For references see Dandamayev 1984, p. 14.

Zadok thinks that the name Bar-zi-ia-a in an undated Neo-Assyrian text (ADD 899, III:9) found at Nineveh also may render the Old Iranian \**Bṛzya-* (Zadok 1979a, p. 295).

113. Barzu (Bar-zu, Pinches 1891/1892, p. 134:2), whose son Antumma' sold slaves in Ḫumadēšu in 523 B.C. On the name see Zadok 1976d, p. 77: \**Bṛza-*, "high."

114. Batraparsa' (Ba-at-ra-pa-ar-sa-a', Kelsey Museum 8133:19, unpublished), son of [Pi?-ri-ia ...] (q.v.) He witnessed a cattle lease. According to V. Livshits, Batraparsa' may render the Old Iranian \**Pāθra-pārsa-*, "defense of the Persian," cf. Avestan *pāθra-*, "defense."

115. Biesu (Bi-e-su, PBS 2/1. 226:13; TMH 2/3, 187:10, L.E.), whose son Munnatu (q.v. a) is mentioned in documents from Nippur as a contracting party and a witness. Zadok thinks this may be the Iranian form of the names of the two satraps of the late Achaemenid period known from Greek sources as Bessos (Zadok 1976b, p. 215, n. 8; Zadok 1989/90, p. 274, where it is compared with the Egyptian Bś). Cf. also

Sogdian Bysh (=Bēs) in an ostrakon from Panjikant (7th or 8th century A.D.); see Livshits and Shkoda, p. 136, no. 4.

116. Birakka' (Bi-ra-ak-ka-a', CT 55, 93:2), whose son Šeta' (q.v.) is mentioned to as a creditor in Sippar at the end of the sixth century B.C. On the name Zadok 1983a, p. 319.

117. Būmasa (Bu-ú-ma-sa, CT 55, 43:5), a "Median" (LU *ma-da-a-a*) mentioned in a letter from the archive of the Ebabbarra temple in Sippar dated in the fourth year of Darius I. (518 B.C.) and containing an instruction to issue five *kur* (900 liters) of dates to this Median. Apparently, his name is Iranian, although its etymology is not clear (cf. Old Persian *būmi-*, "earth," in Kent, p. 200).

118. Buparēs. It seems that he was the last Achaemenid satrap of Babylonia. According to Arrian (3,8,5), he was one of Darius III's generals during the Battle of Gaugamela in 331 B.C. Cf. Justi in INB, p. 71; Zadok 1977, p. 97.

119. Dabdama' (Da-ab-da-ma-a', EEMA 91:12), whose son Aqūbu witnessed a document in Til-Gabarra, near Nippur, in 419 B.C. Dabdama' looks Iranian. According to V. Livshits it might be interpreted "he who puts down a flame" (?), cf. Sogdian *db'n*, "flame."

120. Dadaparna'. Cf. Dataphernēs in Greek sources and Da-tab-bar-ra, etc. in Elamite tablets from Persepolis. The name comes from the Old Iranian \*Dāta-farna- (Eilers 1936, p. 176; Mayrhofer in OnP 8:367; Hinz in ASN, p. 85; Zadok 1981, p. 658).

a) Da-da-a-pa-ar-na-a' (UCP 9/2, 38: [7]; 39:[6],13), a "Choresmian": [LU *hur-zi*]-ma-a-a in 38:7 and [LU *hur*]-[ri]-im-ma-a-a in 39:7 (Zadok 1981, p. 658, n. 2. cf. KUR *hu-ma-ri-iz-mu*, "Choresmia" in the Babylonian version of the Behistun inscription, Aramaic *ḤRZMY'*, Old Persian (*h*)*vārazmu-*). The first document is dated in the fifth year of Cyrus' reign (534 B.C.). The second is undated and probably was drafted in the same year. Both tablets are badly damaged and little information can be derived from them. According to

UCP 9/2, 38, several elders (line 1: AB.BA.MEŠ) of the town Bīt-Šapšap recorded an obligation of a few persons, including Dadaparna', a messenger (line 7: LU *mār šipri*), to take care of some palace property. If an informer were to report against them regarding this property, they would be punished by death. Bīt-Šapšap was probably not far from Uruk since both documents mentioning it were discovered there. In UCP 9/2, 39 Dadaparna' is listed among some royal officials. As far as I can understand the damaged text, these officials were obliged to deliver (?) a lamb to the royal court. The obligation was made known to them in the presence of ten citizens (LU *mār-banê*).

b) Da-da-par-na-a' (BE 10, 58:14), whose son Purḫat (q.v. Paruḫāta a) witnessed a rent payment in Nippur in 422 B.C.

121. Dādaršu (Da-da-ar-šú, PBS 2/1, 37:5; TMH 2/3, 147:24). His patronymic is destroyed in the first of these documents, and the second does not mention it. Mitradāta, son of Bagazuštu (q.v. b), is referred to in TMH 2/3, 147 was his steward (*paqdu*). According to PBS 2/1, 37, Dadaršu was paid rent for 423 B.C. for land leased to the Murašû firm. In this case another steward acted as his agent (cf. Stolper in EEMA, p. 66). The name Dādarši- is attested in the Behistun inscription for a Persian and an Armenian (Kent, p. 189).

122. Da'mamiasta (Da-a'-ma-mi-as-ta, BE 9, 102:8), whose son Bēl-bullisu bore the title "foreman (*šaknu*) of *banaikānu* people." The meaning of *banāikanu* is unknown. See CAD B, p. 79: "possibly a foreign word designating a particular ethnic group or organization." The document was drafted in Nippur in 424 B.C. and records a lease of fief lands to the Murašû house for a term of five years. On the name see Eilers in IBKU, p. 85 and n. 3: \*Dāmi-mazdah-?

123. Daḫizakka' (Da-ḫi-zal-ak-ka-a', EEMA 62: rev. 5), whose son Ša-aḫiia-atalla' (the name is Semitic) witnessed rent paid in Nippur in 437 B.C. According to V. Livshits, the name may render \*Dahičaka- (*Dahali* + *-ča* + *-ka*), i.e., "Belonging to (the tribe of) Daha-."

124. Darius (Da-a-ri-ia-a-mu-uš, Dar. 298:19. etc.; Da-a-ri-ia-a-muš,

ibid. 193:27, etc.; Da-a-ri-ia-šú, ibid. 443:18, etc.; Da-a-ri-im-uš-šú, ibid. 39:15; Da-ri-a-mu-uš, ibid. 17:15, etc.; Da-ri-eš-šú, ibid. :14, etc.; Da-ri-im-muš, ibid. 349:17, etc.; Da-ri-mu-šú, ibid. 3:16, etc.; see Tallqvist in NNB, p. 53; BE 10, p. 48; PBS 2/1, pp. 18f.). The Old Persian form of the name was Dārayava<sup>hu</sup>- (Kent, p. 189, where it is translated "he who holds firm the good"). Three Achaemenid kings bore this name.

a) Darius I (522–486 B.C.). For a list of Babylonian documents dated in his reign see Dandamayev 1984, pp. 15f.; see also OECT 10, p. 12; Durand and Joannès, pp. 51f.; Stolper 1984, pp. 300–302; Stolper 1989, pp. 284f., 304f. According to the Behistun inscription (I, 84–92), Darius personally led a campaign against the Babylonian insurgents who rebelled against him at the beginning of October, 522 B.C. and punished them. He is also mentioned in a king list from Uruk (van Dijk and Mayer, no. 88: obv. 14). A fragment of the Babylonian version of his Behistun inscription was discovered in Babylon on a diorite block (von Voigtlander, pp. 65f.). Darius I

b) Darius II (423–405 B.C.). For a list of documents dated in his reign see Dandamayev 1984, p. 18. On the chronology of his rule see Stolper in EEMA, pp. 114–20. A document dated in the very beginning of his reign (BE 10, 1 = TMH 2/3, 29) records rent paid for a house in Babylon by a member of the Murašû house living in Nippur. According to the text, the house was rented for a period "until the king's departure" (cf. Stolper in EEMA, p. 122). Cf. s.v. Umakuš.

c) Darius III (335–331 B.C.). For a list of documents dated in his reign see Dandamayev 1984, p. 18.

125. Darmakka' (Da-ar-ma-ak-ka-a', BE 9, 74:6), father of Patištana' (q.v.), who held a bow fief and belonged to the *ḫaṭru* organization of the Achaemenids. The document was drafted in 425 B.C. near Nippur. On the name see Zadok 1977, p. 116 (with literature): \*Darmaka-.

126. Dārparna'. For literature on the etymology see Zadok 1977, p. 104: \*Dāraya-farna-. Cf. also Da-ri-par-na in Elamite texts from Persepolis (Mayrhofer in OnP 8.360).

a) Da-ar-par-na-a' (EEMA 1:14; see also BE 9, 39:7), son of Kargē

(q.v.), witness to a contract from 431 B.C. for leasing royal lands near Nippur to the Murašû firm for three years (EEMA 1). In the second text, also dated in the 431 B.C., his name has been only partly preserved, again as a witness to a rent payment.

b) Da-ar-par-na-a' (BE 9, 48 = TMH 2/3, 144:33; Da-ri-pa-ar-na-a', EEMA 95:19; see *ibid.* 25:rev. 2 and PBS 2/1, 217:14 where the name is partly broken off), whose son Ūsparra' (q.v.) witnessed rent payments in Nippur in 429–418 B.C.

127. Dēmiši (De-mi-ši, CT 55, 93:9), son of Tumunu (q.v.), a witness to a loan in money given by the Iranian Šeta' (q.v.) in Sippar at the end of the sixth century B.C. (the reign of Darius I; the year is broken off). He is called LU *sak-ka-a-a* (line 10), "Saka" (i.e., Scythian). According to Zadok, "this is the only occurrence of this gentilic in Babylonian documents (a Neo-Assyrian royal inscription mentions this gentilic) .... The whole name can perhaps be reconstructed as \*Dahyāum-iša-, 'land seeker'" (Zadok 1983a, p. 319).

Dēprada'. See Kēprada'.

128. Dizaka' (Di-za-ka-a', BE 9, 47:2), whose patronymic is not mentioned. He rented his bow fief near Nippur to the Murašû firm in 429 B.C. On the name Zadok 1977, p. 118 (with previous literature): \*Dizaka-.

129. Duḫumišda' (Du-ḫu-mi-iš-da-a', OECT 10, 171:7, 8), creditor for a loan of fifty shekels of silver issued in Kish in the fourth regnal year of Xerxes (482 B.C.). The loan was to be repaid through his slave Mi'da' (q.v.). The name Duḫumišda' seems to be Iranian. Its second component is apparently *-mišda-* (for some names with this component see Mayrhofer in OnP 8.466 and 8.1730).

130. Dundana' (Du-un-da-na-a', BE 10, 82:4, 6, 12, Lo.E.; 89:2, 7, 10, U.E.), an Achaemenid prince. His patronymic is not mentioned. His lands near Nippur were managed by his steward Lābāši and rented to the Murašû firm. In 420 B.C. he was paid 250 *kur* (45,000 liters) of

barley, a vessel of beer, and a ram as rent for two fields. On the name see Zadok 1977, p. 109 (with literature): \*Davantāna-.

131. Durmušdu' (Du-ur-mu-uš-du-u', BE 9, 60:21, R), whose son Iddin-Bēl (a Babylonian name) witnessed of a rental contract drafted in 428 B.C. in Nippur. On the name see Zadok 1976c, p. 67: \*Dūra-miždva-, "whose reward is far-(reaching) (?)."

132. Gambiia (Ga-am-bi-ia, VAS 5, 101:4), daughter of Parnakka (q.v.) and wife of Zērūtu (a Babylonian name). Her name is written with the masculine determinative, apparently is a *lapsus calami* of the scribe. She is mentioned in a broken context in a document drafted in Babylon in 494 B.C. referring to some land that she and her husband were going to sell. Zadok assumes that her name is probably Semitic (Zadok 1977, p. 94, n. 26), but it seems unlikely that an Iranian would have given his daughter a Semitic name at such an early period as Darius I's reign. Therefore the name of Gambiia seems to be Iranian. V. Livshits is inclined to trace it to Old Iranian \*gamb-, "to strain oneself" (cf. Sogdian *ymb-*, *ymp*-Sogdian;).

133. Girparna' (Gi-ir-par-na-a', PBS 2/1, 114:8, 10; TMH 2/3, 204:2, 6, 17), a slave (*ardu*) of the Persian prince Arbareme mentioned in two documents from Nippur drafted in 419 B.C. To judge from PBS 2/1, 114:10, his father also bore the name Girparna'. As seen from TMH 2/3, 204, the house and garden presented to him by Arbareme were given in mortgage to the Murašû firm. A member of the firm warned two slaves of Girparna' (one of whom bore the Iranian name Iskutikku, q.v.) that the term of the mortgage was running out but the mortgaged property still had not been redeemed and that no kind of claims to it should be produced in the future (cf. Stolper in EEMA, p. 67). According to PBS 2/1, 114, lands of the "estate of the equerry" were leased to the Murašûs who paid one mina of silver and two *kur* (360 liters) of barley as the salary and provisions of two royal soldiers (LÚ *šāb šarri*). This payment was made through Girparna', "the foreman of the *šušānu* persons of the estate of the equerry." The document is sealed with Girparna's "bronze seal ring."

Hüsing read this name as Keritunah' (the sign *par* can also be read as *tú*). But such a reading is based on the apparently incorrect assumption that the *šušānu* were connected with Susa, the capital of Elam, and consequently their foreman would have been an Elamite (Hüsing, p. 40). Hinz derives Girparna' from \**Gīrafarnah*- (?), "der das Glück ergreift" ? (ASN, p. 107). V. Livshits connects this name with Parthian proper name Gryprn, where the etymology of *gry*- is not clear.

134. Gubāru (Ug-ba-ru, ABC, p. 109, III: 15, p. 110, III:22; Gu-ba-ru, AnOr 8, 46:2, etc.; Gu-bar-ra/ru, ibid. 45:3; YOS 7, 160:12, etc.; Gu-bar-ri, YOS 7, 178:16, etc.; Gu-ba-ri, BE 10, 91:20, etc.; Gu-bar, PBS 2/1, 100:12, etc.). This is the Old Persian name Gaubaruva- (Kent, p. 182) or Gobryas of Greek sources.

a) According to the Nabonidus Chronicle (III:15, see ABC, p. 109), Ugbāru was "the governor of the country Gutium" and on the 16th day of the month Tashrītu (October 12, 539 B.C.) he and the army of Cyrus II took Babylon. In other words, Ugbāru was the Persian general who occupied Babylon. According to the same source, "on the night of the 11th day of the month Araḥsamna Ugbāru died"—November 6th of the same year, approximately three weeks after the fall of Babylon (ABC, p. 110, III: 22). The same chronicle says that Gubāru (Gu-ba-ru) the governor (LÚ NAM) "appointed the district officials in Babylon" (ABC, p. 110, III:20). This information is given immediately after the report that on October 29, 539 B.C. Cyrus II triumphantly entered Babylon and before the statement about Ugbāru's death.

There is no doubt that Ugbāru and Gubāru render the same Iranian name Gaubaruva-, and it seems that they refer to the same person (cf. ABC, p. 109, where Grayson assumes that their identity is uncertain). Thus, Ugbāru/Gubāru was the first Persian governor of Babylonia and had in his hands the real power in Babylonia and in its capital. The same chronicle says that before the war with Babylonia he was the governor of the country Gutium. He is also mentioned as Gobryas by Xenophon (*Cyropaedia* 4, 6, 2, etc.), who reports that he was an Assyrian who deserted the last Babylonian king and then joined Cyrus in the campaign against Babylon (*Cyropaedia* 7, 5, 8, 26, 32, etc.). However, Xenophon, like Herodotus, makes no distinction between



Assyria and Babylonia and at times calls Babylonians Assyrians.

Some scholars suppose that Ugbāru was Nabonidus' own appointee as governor of Gutium, a region that they think was located west of Media and was dependent on the Neo-Babylonian kings (Hallo, p. 717f.). However, as Zadok has shown, such an opinion cannot be sustained (Zadok 1981/1982, p. 138, n. 65). Mallowan's view that "Gobryas, governor of Gutium, who had been the principal general of Nebuchadnezzar, defected to the side of Cyrus" (Mallowan, p. 411) cannot be accepted, since it is based on an erroneous interpretation of a Babylonian letter (Scheil 1914, pp. 166ff.; see below). Some scholars attribute this letter to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, but it belongs to the time of Cyrus II (San Nicolò 1941, p. 45). Almost certainly Gutium was the Achaemenid satrapy embracing Media and possibly also north-eastern Assyria. It had been conquered by the Persians in 550 B.C. after the war with Media and bordered on Babylonia (Zadok 1981/1982, p. 138, n. 65). In the first millennium B.C. Gutium was an archaic name for Media or, at least, its western part. Though the *Cyropaedia* is a historical novel in which real historical events are frequently distorted in accordance with philosophical and political purposes of its author, this work does contain some valuable information unknown even to Herodotus. Xenophon knew that it was Gobryas who had occupied Babylon at the order of Cyrus, information in full accordance with the Nabonidus Chronicle. He was an old man if we are to believe Xenophon (*Cyropaedia* 4, 6, 1-7). Apparently, he was a Persian or a Mede.

Shea supposes that Ugbāru was king of Babylon in 538 B.C., while Cyrus II was king of the whole Persian empire (Shea, pp. 99ff.). However, there is no evidence in favor of the opinion that Ugbāru was a vassal king (cf. in detail below s.v. Kambuzija).

b) Governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River under Cyrus II and Cambyses. Sometime between April and the end of October in 535 B.C. Cyrus made Mesopotamia and Across-the-River (Ebir-Nāri, i.e., the regions lying to the west of the Euphrates as far as to the Phoenician city states), into a single province and appointed Gubāru its governor (San Nicolò 1941, pp. 55f.).

Some scholars think that this Gubāru was the person mentioned in

the Nabonidus Chronicle (cf. *a* above). Such an opinion, of course, cannot be accepted since that Ugbāru died soon after the fall of Babylon to the Persians (cf. Röllig, pp. 671f.). Schwenzner (p. 48) goes even further, assuming that Ugbāru, the governor of Gutium, Gubāru, the governor of Babylonia, Gubāru, the accomplice of Darius in overthrowing Gaumata the Magian, and Gubāru, the lance bearer of Darius I, were all one and the same person. According to Mallowan (p. 411, n. 2), Gubāru, the governor of Babylonia under Cyrus II, and Gubāru, the accomplice of Darius I, were the same person.

Gubāru retained his post at least until the fifth year of Cambyses' reign, 525 B.C., or possibly even until 522 B.C. (cf. San Nicolò 1941, pp. 55f.). This Gubāru is frequently referred to in Babylonian documents, which give abundant information about his administrative functions (cf. San Nicolò 1941, p. 56, n. 1, which contains a list of documents published until 1940 and mentioning Gubāru. Some more recent publications will be considered below).

Let us discuss some typical texts. AnOr 8, 45 and 46, drafted at Uruk in 535 B.C., record the obligation of two debtors to the Eanna temple to go to Babylon to Gubāru, the governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River (LÚ NAM TIN.TIR.KI ù KUR *e-bir* ÍD, see AnOr 8, 45:3-4). Several high officials of the same temple were to accompany them, and a number of persons guaranteed that the debtors would go. Otherwise, the guarantors and the debtors themselves would bear "the punishment (*hīṭu*) of Gubāru" (see also BIN II, 114; Stigers, no. 43). YOS 7, 178 attests that a debtor who had been placed in shackles in the Eanna temple was released when four men stood as guarantors for him. The document was drafted in Uruk in 525 B.C. and contains the stipulation that the guarantors will be punished by Gubāru if the debtor escapes to some other place. According to TCL 13, 168, in 525 B.C. a man guaranteed that five temple-slave fowlers would regularly deliver a quittance of birds to the Eanna temple in Uruk. Otherwise, he would bear "the punishment of Gubāru, the governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River." When the Eanna temple herdsmen had some deficit in livestock at the inspection, the manager of the temple and the royal commissioner told all them, "This is an order of Gubāru .... You must go together with us to Gubāru" (AnOr 8, 43, drafted in Uruk in 535 B.C.) In 531 B.C. a

certain Gimillu was sent at the head of a crew of slaves of the Eanna temple from Uruk to Babylon to work for the governor Gubāru. When Gimillu and the other laborers returned to Uruk, the steward of the Eanna temple and the royal commissioner in this temple asked him: "What instructions did Gubāru give you regarding the temple slaves ... whom you... brought to us and placed at our disposal? ... Speak, and we fulfill (these instructions)." To this Gimillu answered: "Gubāru did not give me any instructions concerning them ... Let them work in the Eanna temple until you get instructions from Gubāru regarding them" (YOS 7, 70; on some of Gubāru's instructions see also Scheil 1921, p. 32, no. 22:2). "At the command of Gubāru" ten agricultural workmen of the Eanna temple were sent in 528 B.C. from Uruk to Babylon to perform some state corvée work (TCL 13, 152). If a certain person did not send workmen to perform state corvée on the Ḥarrikippi canal in 528 B.C., he was to bear the punishment of Gubāru (TCL 13, 150). According to YOS 7, 172, drafted in Uruk in 526 B.C., a certain Kalbā was instructed to bring twenty temple slaves, who had been taking care of the royal cattle (line 2: GUD šá LUGAL) and later had been sent to gather reeds for the "work of the royal palace" (lines 8-9: *a-na dul-lu šá É.GAL šá LUGAL*), and to deliver them to the royal commissioner. If he did not deliver them, he was to be punished by Gubāru.

A number of documents from the reign of Cambyses are connected by their contents. "According to the written order of Gubāru, the governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River," the royal commissioner in the Eanna temple delivered eighty full-grown sheep "for the royal table" in the city of Amanu, apparently near Uruk (GCCII II, 120). A rent collector in the Eanna temple was ordered to deliver at a specified time 5,000 talents (150 tons) of wood "to the royal palace." The temple was to give 100 talents (93 tons) of dates to the same palace (YOS 7, 168; Pinches 1916, p. 29). Michigan Collection 89 records an issue of four shekels of silver to rent a boat to transfer some first-class beer to Amanu. Another boat was rented to deliver bricks to the palace there. These instructions were given by Gubāru. Also, a messenger of Gubāru and the steward of the palace in Amanu were paid respectively six and five shekels of silver from the Eanna temple. The same text also mentions a Mede and a Choresmian (cf. for an analogous document s.v.

Parnaka *a*). Zadok (1976d, p. 72) thinks that Amanu (URU *A-ma-nu*), where Cambyses' palace was located, is Old Iranian \*Āvahana-, "settlement."

TCL 13, 142 (Uruk, 532 B.C.) contains a warning that if any utensils are removed from the Eanna temple storehouse the guilty person will be punished by Gubāru. When a temple slave stole a sheep from a herd belonging to the Eanna temple, an official declared that he had already warned this slave: "You must not slaughter any sheep marked with the iron star" (i.e., belonging to the Eanna temple). However, on the testimony of the same official, the slave tried to strangle him. Then, in accordance with an order from Gubāru and Parnaka (q.v.), the case was handed over to a court of citizens in Uruk (YOS 7, 128, Uruk, 528 B.C.).

In 527 B.C. three senior shepherds of the Eanna temple took an oath by the gods Bēl and Nabû and the royal majesty that they would bring sheep for sacrifice at a specified time on pain of Gubāru's punishment (YOS 7, 160, Uruk). An overseer of the Eanna temple shepherds was obliged to dispatch sheep for sacrifices. If he did not dispatch a sufficient number of sheep he would be punished by Gubāru (YOS 7, 127, Uruk, 528 B.C.). Five senior shepherds of the Eanna temple took an oath by the gods Bēl and Nabû as well as by King Cyrus that, being sent to inspect the livestock belonging to the Eanna temple, they would not hide anything. This statement was made in the presence of high temple officials and the "messengers of Gubāru" (AnOr 8, 61, Uruk, 531 B.C.).

A letter of the early Achaemenid period from the Eanna temple archive and sent from a certain Anu-šar-ušur (probably the governor of Uruk) to the manager and to the royal commissioner in this temple, says that an official in charge of fodder in Eanna informed Gubāru about the number of the temple workmen. But, to judge from this letter, this information was not full, and for this reason Anu-šar-ušur warned the temple officials that Gubāru should be told about dead and runaway slaves. If they did not inform him, the sender would tell Gubāru about it himself (Scheil 1914, pp. 166ff. where this text is attributed to the time of Nebuchadnezzar II. On the date, however, see Clay, pp. 466f. The end of the letter has been omitted in Scheil's publication. The tablet will

be republished by A. Millard, whose copy I have used.)

In 530 B.C. the manager and the royal commissioner of the Eanna temple "registered the temple slaves in the center of the city to guard Eanna.... They are to guard the environs of Eanna. He who is negligent in his guard (duty) will be punished by Gubāru" (GCC I II, 103, Uruk; see also BIN I, 169).

In 533 B.C. two persons—a man from the city of Kish and an Arab—are enjoined from meeting with two temple slave women (mentioned by name) on pain of of Gubāru's punishment (YOS 7, 56 and 92, Uruk).

A "message" sent by Gubāru to the Eanna temple is referred to in the letter YOS 3, 111 (see also *ibid.*, no. 106).

BE 8, 80 shows that in 529 B.C. the "citizens and elders" of the city of Ḫandīdu swore by the gods Bēl and Nabû and by the majesty of Cambyses that Šillāja, the manager (line 14: LÚ *rab bīti*) of Gubāru, ordered a nearby canal, probably in the Nippur region, to be given over for the use of the "Cimmerians and the Subareans." By Cimmerians are meant the Sakai. But long before Achaemenid times the term "Subareans" had become an anachronism, and it is not quite clear which people is meant.

In Sippar in 480 B.C. a man placed his brother at the disposal of a certain Kušuraia to work in place of his employer "digging the canal of Gubāru" (TEBR 89). This canal apparently was named after the governor Gubāru. A document from Sippar dated 529 B.C. mentions "Gubāru's harbor" (*kāru*) and its overseer (Camb. 96; cf. Röllig, p. 671).

To judge from a document dated in the ninth (?) regnal year of Artaxerxes (456 B.C., if Artaxerxes I is meant), there was a locality called "Reeds of Gubāru" in the Šuanna quarter in Babylon (Michigan Collection 14; but cf. Zadok 1977, p. 98, according to whom the text mentions a house held by Gubāru; it seems to me that the house did not belong to Gubāru himself but was located in the "Reeds of Gubāru").

The documents under discussion are mostly from the archives of the Eanna temple in Uruk, some coming from Sippar, Babylon, etc. The texts where Gubāru is referred to as the governor are dated from the fourth year of Cyrus' reign through the fifth year of Cambyses (from 17

March 535 to 28 August 525 B.C.; Stolper 1989, p. 290). A letter where Gubāru (YOS 3, 106, line 7: Gu-bar-ru; the name is spelled without the masculine determinative) is mentioned seems to have been written after the death of Cambyses in 522 B.C. (San Nicolò 1941, p. 65). It is possible that Gubāru perished during the revolts which occurred in Babylonia in 522–521 B.C.

As seen from these documents, the residence of Gubāru was in Babylon. At his order the Eanna temple regularly sent considerable numbers of slaves from Uruk to Babylon, in all probability, to work in the royal household. Some texts testify that several times Gubāru ordered the authorities of the Eanna temple to supply a royal palace located near Uruk with sheep, beer, dates, etc., when Cambyses happened to stay there. These records contain the stipulation that if Gubāru's orders were not fulfilled, the guilty persons would be punished.

Gubāru was regularly informed about the numbers of dead and run-away temple slaves. The persons who had stolen or plundered temple property were regularly sent from Uruk to Babylon for his investigation and punishment. He was also responsible for punishing temple shepherds who failed to promptly deliver their quotas of sheep and cattle for sacrifices. The records mention by name several of his messengers, scribes, and scribe-interpreters, mainly in connection with their inspections of temple livestock (in addition to documents discussed above, see Roth, pp. 482ff.). Thus, the competence of Gubāru was very great and was not restricted to the administrative functions of a governor. In particular, he exercised authority over the Babylonian temples, which for many centuries had enjoyed local self-government.

One document mentions Gubāru's manager at Nippur (see also YOS 7, 70:6, where "the deputy and commissioner of Gubāru" is referred to). Apparently, Gubāru owned land near Nippur. He probably also owned an estate near Babylon.

Several records refer to his son Nabugu (q.v.) who also occupied a high administrative position.

Gubāru left a considerable trace in later cuneiform records. Documents dated in the reigns of Cambyses, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes I, mention a "canal of Gubāru" and a "harbor of Gubāru" in Sippar and a locality called "Reeds of Gubāru" in or near Babylon.

c) Gubāru, the governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River, may be the person mentioned in the Behistun inscription as an accomplice of Darius I against Gaumata the Magian. He is known also as the lance bearer of Darius (DNC:1, in Kent, p. 140). In the Babylonian versions of the Behistun and Naqš-i-Rustam inscriptions of Darius I, his name is spelled respectively Gu-ba-ru-u' and Ku-bar-ra (von Voigtlander, line 111; KIA, p. 97). In both cases he bears the ethnic designation "a Patischorian." In the Babylonian version of the Behistun inscription he is called LÚ *par-sa-a-a*, a "Persian" (von Voigtlander, line 111).

d) A governor of Babylonia under Darius II, referred to in a number of Murašû documents from Nippur dated in the period from the third through seventh years of Darius II's reign (4 March 420–16 April 417 B.C.; Stolper 1989, p. 290). He probably was the governor of Babylonia until the beginning of Artaxerxes II's reign. It seems that his residence was in Nippur (Röllig, p. 672). His official title was "Governor of the Land of Akkad" or "Governor of the Akkadians" (LÚ NAM šá KUR/LU URI.KI-*i*, see BE 10, 101:25; PBS 2/1, 72:L.E.; 96:16, cf. Oppenheim 1985, p. 564). See also BE 10, 118:14 where he is called "governor of Babylonia."

One text records rent paid on his field through his slave (BE 10, 84), who also witnessed a business document (BE 10, 85:15; cf. *ibid.*, U. E., where his full title is given: "seal of Pakiki, the foreman of the estate of swordbearers, slave of Gubāru"). The documents mention four scribe-interpreters who were at Gubāru's disposal (BE 10, 101:25, Lo.E.; PBS 2/1, 70:15; 72:12, Lo.E.; 133:23, U.E.; EEMA 111:rev.), four judges subordinated to him (BE 10, 84:11, Lo.E.; 128:14, U.E.; PBS 2/1, 105:14–15; 133:20, Lo.E.; 224:9; EEMA 32:rev. 4), four of his slaves, two of whom bore the Iranian names of Artasurru and Gundakka' (BE 10, 114:14; 128:16–17; TMH 2/3, 190:U.E., etc.), a judicial official who bore the Iranian title *mutiprāsu* (BE 10, 97:17), and one more official with the title LÚ *daššiia* (BE 10, 91:19–20, U.E.; cf. above s.v. Attarapāta). Cf. also Joannès, no. 88:rev. 4.

This Gubāru was probably the Gobryas who was the commander-in-chief of Artaxerxes II's army during his war with Cyrus the Younger in Babylonia in 401 B.C. (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 1, 7, 11; cf. Meissner, col. 384; Zadok 1977, p. 97; Stolper 1987, pp. 396–98).

135. Gukka' (Gu-uk-ka-a', EEMA 34:6, 10, rev.), son of Ḥanani-iāma (a Semitic name), a slave of Bagēšu (q.v., c). In Nippur in 417 B.C. he was paid rent on a field by the Murašû firm, probably on Bagēšu's behalf. The document contains a nail impression of Gukka'. On the name see Zadok 1977, p. 106 (with previous literature): \*Gauka-, "bullock."

136. Gundakka'. On the name see Zadok 1977, p. 102 (with previous literature): \*Gundaka-.

a) Gu-un-dak-ka-a' (PBS 2/1, 150:24, Lo.E.), son of Gundakka', brother of Na'id-šīpak (a Semitic name), a witness of a lease in 418 B.C. of *uzbaru* (crown) fields located near Nippur. The contract contains his seal impression. The Gundakka' who witnessed TMH 2/3, 190:U.E., recording rent paid by the Murašû firm for land of the Persian prince Arrišittu in 417 B.C., may be the same person. However, his patronymic is not indicated, and he is called a slave of the satrap Gubāru.

b) Gu-un-dak-ka-a', Gu-un-da-ka-a' (BE 10, 67:17, Lo.E.; 90:10, Lo.E.; PBS 2/1, 192:19, U.E.; cf. also *ibid.*, 83:U.E., where the name has been only partly preserved), son of Tigra' (q.v.), a witness of receipts for royal taxes (*ilku*) and rent on lands near Nippur in 422–420 B.C. He was the overseer of the Lydian and Phrygian soldiers who lived in or near Nippur (BE 10, 90:10–11, Lo.E., etc.). Two of the documents contain an impression of his seal (PBS 2/1, 192:U.E.; TMH 2/3, 190:U.E.; on this text cf., however, above s.v. Gundakka' a).

137. Gusurri' (Gu-su-ri, PBS 2/1, 95:8, 11, 12; Gu-sur-ri-i', BE 10, 80:5, 12, R; Gu-su-ri-i', PBS 2/1, 189:7), son of Lābāši (a Babylonian name), foreman of the "horse-feeders" (*aspastūa*, an Old Iranian word, see PBS 2/1, 95:8–9. etc.) and referred to in the Murašû documents in Nippur in 423–420 B.C. These persons were settled on royal lands near Nippur that were rented to the Murašû firm. BE 10, 80:R mentions Gusurri's slaves Terihīlije and Tirā (q.vv.). PBS 2/1, 95:11 mentions a scribe-interpreter subordinated to Gusurri'. On the name see Zadok 1975, p. 245: \*gau-sūra-, Avestan *gaosūra*-, "possessing strong oxen."



138. Ḥabarda' (Ḥa-bar-da-a', BE 9, 18:8), whose son Astušebarma' (q.v.) witnessed a contract drafted in Nippur in 435 B.C. On a possible etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 109.

Ḥadbaga' (Ḥa-ad-ba-ga-a', BE 9, 12:L.E.). See Adabaga' *a*.

139. Ḥambaru, attested in a number of the Murašû documents as a component of a geographical name (URU *Ḥa-am-ba-ri*, "Town of Ḥambaru" located near Nippur; see BE 9, 7a:3, PBS 2/1, 48:5, cf. also BE 9, 8:12; 44:11; BE 10, 61:7, 9; PBS 2/1, 63:11 where the name is written without the masculine determinative; cf. Zadok 1985, p. 150.) According to BE 9, 7a, bow lands located in Town of Ḥambaru were rented out to the Murašû firm in 439 B.C. On the name see Hinz in ASN, pp. 112f.; Dandamayev 1987, pp. 39f.: \**hambara*- ("storehouse").

140. Ḥambazu' (Ḥa-am-ba-zu-u', BE 10, 89:16, R), whose son Artaparna' (q.v.) witnessed a rent payment in Nippur in 420 B.C. On the etymology see Zadok 1976c, p. 67: \**Ham-bāzu*-, "the embracer." The same name is attested also in Elamite documents from Persepolis in the form of Anbaduš (Gershevitch, p. 178).

141. Ḥaridapū (Ḥa-ri-da-pu-ú, Jakob-Rost and Freydank, p. 29, no. 21:4), the manager of a landowner whose name is broken (line 3: Pa-ap- [...]) . The document comes from Babylon and records rent paid on a field that was a "royal present" (line 3: *ni-din-tu* LUGAL). This name may not be Iranian.

142. Ḥarizanu (Ḥa-ri-za-nu, PBS 2/1, 12:5; 76:5; 157:1), a name appearing in three rent receipts from the Nippur region at the beginning of Darius II's reign. Apparently, it is an Iranian name although all three persons bearing it were related to Babylonians. According to Hinz, the name is derived from the Median \**aryazana*-, "von iranischer Art" (ASN, p. 42). Perhaps "of Iranian origin" would be better.

a) Father of Šamašaja, a lessee (PBS 2/1, 157).

- b) Father of Ninurta-aḫ-iddin, a lessee (ibid., no. 12).
- c) Son of Šumaja, a holder of a bow fief (ibid., no. 76).

143. Ḫarrimaz (Ḫar-ri-ú-ma-az, PBS 2/1, 122:5; Ḫar-ri-ma-az, BE 10, 86:14), whose son Aplā (a Babylonian name) held a bow fief and was one of the Achaemenid military colonists in Šalammu, near Nippur. The documents were drafted in 420 and 418 B.C. According to Hinz, the name goes back to the Median *-\*aryavāza-*, “Iraner-führer” (ASN, p. 41).

144. Ḫīdāta’ (Ḫi-i-da-ta-a’, PBS 2/1, 119:13 and U.E.), son of Bēl-iddin, a witness to a rent payment in Nippur in 418 B.C. At least the second component of his name is Iranian (*-dāta*). Cf. Hinz in ASN, p. 120. His patronymic is Babylonian.

145. Ḫišiaršu (Ḫi-ši-a’-ar-ši, Stigers, no. 51:12, etc.; Ḫi-ši-ár-šú, UET 4, 115:17, etc.; Ḫi-ši-i’-áš-šú, Joannès, p. 108, no. 9:12; Ak-ši-ak-ar-šu, Evetts, Appendix 2:6, etc.; Ak-ši-ri-áš-ri, OECT 10, 183:13; Ak-ši-ia-ar-šú, VAS 4, 193:5, etc.; Ak-ši-ia-ar-ši, TMLH 2/3, 38:18, and other forms which render the Old Persian name Xšayāršan-), King Xerxes (486–465 B.C.). In Babylonian texts the name is attested only for this king. For references to Babylonian documents dated in his reign see Graziani, pp. IV–VI; cf. also Stolper 1988a, pp. 196f. A short Elamite inscription from Uruk contains only his title (“Xerxes, king of all the world”; see van Dijk in UVB 16, 1960, p. 60).

In Mesopotamia the early Achaemenid kings bore the official title “King of Babylon, King of the Lands.” At the beginning of his reign Xerxes also used this title. It was once thought that when the Babylonians revolted against the Persian rule in 482 B.C., the fourth regnal year of Xerxes, his title in Babylonia became “King of the Lands,” but recent publications show that some Babylonian texts dated in his fifth through sixteenth regnal years give him the title “King of Persia (Parsu/Parsaja) and Media (Madaja), King of Babylon, and King of the Lands.” Moreover, in several texts dated in his reign, Artaxerxes I bears the title “King of Babylon” (OECT 10, 171, 172, etc.). Cf. Stolper in EEMA, p. 9, n. 25; Idem 1987, p. 397, n. 38; Idem 1989, p. 294; Kuhrt and

Sherwin-White, pp. 72f.; F. Joannès, "La titulature de Xerxès," N.A.B.U., 1989, p. 25, no. 37.

146. *Humagammu* (Hu-ma-ga-am-mu, Pinches 1891/1892, p. 134:12), whose son Baga'siru witnessed a slave sale contract in *Humadēšu* in 523 B.C. On the etymology see Zadok 1976d, p. 77: \*Hva-gāma-, "striking beautifully."

147. *Humaitu* (Hu-ma-a-a-tum, Dar. 379:47), the wife of Mannâ-kî-Ištaria, a slave woman of the Egibi business house mentioned in a document drafted in 508 B.C. in Babylon recording the division of the property of the Egibi house. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 124 (Avestan *humata*-, "gut gedacht"). Cf. s.v. *Humāta*, attested as a man's name.

*Humardātu* (Hu-ú-mar-da-a-tú, PBS 2/1, 6:12, etc.). See *Umardātu*.

148. *Humāta'* (Hu-ú-ma-a-ta-a', TMH 2/3, 189:8b, 12), father of *Tiriparna'* the foreman of the "Cimmerian" (Sakai) military colonists settled in the Nippur region, and *Tiribaza'*, (q.vv.) who are mentioned in a document drafted in 417 B.C. in a suburb of Nippur. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, pp. 124f. (\*Hu-mata-, cf. above *Humaitu*).

149. *Hungamu* (Hu-un-gā-mu, PBS 2/1, 16:1), whose son Nanâ-iddin rented his bow fief to the Murašû firm for a term of three years for six shekels of silver a year. The document was drafted in Nippur in 423 B.C. On the etymology see Zadok 1976c, p. 67 (\*Hu-nigāma-, "[born] at a good time").

150. *Hurunnatu* (Hu-ur-un-na-tú, PBS 2/1, 130:15, L.E.; Hu-ru-mu-un-na-tú, ibid. 143:7; Hur-ri-mun-na-tú, BE 10, 123:4), referred to without patronymic in documents from Nippur in 418–415 B.C. with the title *abarakku* (steward of the royal household). On the etymology see Zadok 1976b, p. 215: \*Xvar-vanaθa-, "deriving victory from the Sun-god."

151. Hurušadātu (Hur-uš-ša-da-a-tú, BE 10, 100:3; Hu-ur-ša-da-a-tú, *ibid.* 86:3; Hu-ur-ši-da-a-tú, TMH 2/3, 184:4, collated by J. Oelsner; see Zadok 1976b, p. 214; Hur-ta-ša-da-a-tú, THM 2/3, 191:4), whose son Bariki was one of the Areian soldiers (BE 10, 100:3-4) settled in Bīt-Tabalāja, near Nippur. His fief was rented to the Murašû firm. Hurušadātu is an Iranian name; probably he was an Areian who gave his son a Semitic name. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 140: \*Xvaršadāta-, "Heldgeschaffen."

152. Huruzuštu (Hu-ru-zu-uš-tum, Ungnad 1960, p. 79, Amherst 285:5), one of the Iranians sent to Borsippa around 485 B.C. He was issued, among other things, a jug of wine. On the etymology see Eilers 1957-1958, p. 332; Zadok 1977, p. 96: \*Xvar-zušta-, "beloved by Sun-god."

153. Huta[...] (Hu-ta-[]), Stolper 1989, pp. 285f.; see also Eph'al, p. 154), son of Pagakanna (q.v.) and the "governor of Babylon and Across-the-River" (LÚ *pa-ḥa-tum* E.KI ù *e-bi-ri* ID, lines 2-3). The document was drafted in Babylon in the 36th regnal year of Darius I (486 B.C.). An overseer of the prison (or of the work-house, *bīt killi*), Šihā by name, received fourteen *kur* (2520 liters) of barley from a certain Iddin-Nabû, son of Iqīša-Marduk, as a payment due to the crown. The payment was authorized by Huta[...] and two scribes.

According to Stolper (1989, p. 287), the name of this governor perhaps can be read as Hu-ta-an-na- from Old Persian Utāna (Greek Otanēs), although in the Behistun inscription (par. 68) the Old Persian [U]tā[na] is transcribed Ū-mi-it-ta-na-a'. This Huta[...] was an Iranian and the latest known governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River. Thus, the separation of Babylonia from Across-the-River as a separate satrapy occurred during the early years of Xerxes. after the death of Darius I (Stolper 1989, p. 293).

Hystanes. See Uštānu.

154. Iamma (Ia-am-ma-a', BE 10, 72:3, 5, 8, 9; Ia-a-am-ma-a', *ibid.* 76:2), son of Bānade'u (q.v.). In 421 B.C. he was paid rent for a field in

Ḥuṣṣēti-ša-Nāšir, near Nippur. The payment was made by the Murašû firm through Bariki-ili, the agent of Iamma, and consisted of 30 *kur* 2 *pān* 3 *sūt* (5,490 liters) of barley, 5 *kur* (900 liters) of spelt, 3 *pān* 4 *sūt* 3 *qa* (135 liters) of chick peas, and 1 *pān* 1 *sūt* 3 *qa* (45 liters) of lentils (BE 10, 72). In the same year the Murašû firm paid Iamma 5 *kur* 2 *pān* 3 *sūt* (990 liters) of barley and 2 *kur* (360 liters) of spelt as annual rent for fields in Bīt-Ḥaddija and Milidu, near Nippur. The payment was made through a certain Pirrina'niš (BE 10, 76). On the etymology of Iamma see Zadok 1976c, p. 67 (\*Yama-).

155. Ibbastana' (Ib-ba-as-ta-na-a', BE 8, 144:19), referred to in a broken context in a document from Darius I's time. The place where it was drafted is unknown. According to Zadok, Ibbastana' is an Iranian-looking name, and its first component may be *-iba-*, "family" (1977, p. 96 with n. 56). V. Livshits suggests translating the name as "(occupying an outstanding) place (*stāna-*) in the family."

Cf. the geographical name Abastānu (URU A-ba-as-ta-nu, BE 10, 64: 5; PBS 2/1, 7:4; 8:2, 4; 20:1; 120:6; 207:6; see also BE 9, 86a:3; PBS 2/1, 193:5 where this toponym has been only partly preserved; cf. URU *Ab-ba-eš-ta-nu*, PBS 1/2, 87:6). The last text is an undated letter, and all the other documents were drafted in Nippur in 424–418 B.C. Abastanu was near Nippur on the bank of Sīn-magir canal (BE 9, 86a; PBS 2/1, 120 and 207; cf. Zadok 1978, pp. 310, 331) and had bow fiefs and lands belonging to the *šušānu* workmen. The documents record payment of royal taxes (BE 10, 64; PBS 2/1, 120, 207) and lease of land to the Murašû firm (BE 9, 86a; PBS 2/1, 20). PBS 2/1, 7 and 8, are promissory notes obligating two brothers to pay the Murašû firm 200 *kur* (36,000 liters) of dates in Abastānu. The letter PBS 1/2, 87, recording a decision by the elders of Abbaeštānu regarding temple tithe, was found in Nippur and mentions the title *šandabakku*, borne by governors of Nippur. On the etymology see Zadok 1976d, p. 72; idem 1978, p. 312 (\**abistāna-*, "estate"); see also Hüsing, p. 45.

156. Iḥšē (in Bīt Iḥ-še-e, YOS 7, 149:13; the name is written without the masculine determinative), owner of a manor near Uruk and not far from the estate of the Iranian Bagēsu (q.v.). The document was drafted

in 527 B.C. On the name see Zadok 1977, p. 92 (\*Xšaya-, "ruler").

Indaparnu. See Mundaparnu and Umintaparna'.

157. Induka' (In-du-ka-a', Kelsey Museum 8133:4, unpublished), a tenant. The name, also mentioned in a document of the 20th regnal year of Darius I (502 B.C.), may be from the ethnic name Hindukka (a man from \*Hinduš, "Indian"), cf. Benveniste 1966, p. 83, s.v. *Hindukka*. A Babylonian text from Persepolis mentions a woman named In-duk-ka, the mother of Tutu, "chief of merchants" (PTT, p. 201, no. 85:2).

158. Ipradāta (Ip-ra-da-a-ta/tú, PBS 2/1, 103:3,6,L.E.; 201: 3,7,8), an Achaemenid prince, son of Aḫiamanuš. Ipradāta ordered two of his slaves in 420 B.C. to collect one mina of silver as Rent for his land leased to the Murašû firm (PBS 2/1, 201). PBS 2/1, 103, records the same amount of silver due on "all the fields planted (with date palms) and under (cereal) cultivation lying in the suburbs of all the city of Nippur, which belong to Ipradāta, son of the prince Aḫiamanuš." The document was drafted "before Ištābuzana and Ḫumardātu (q.vv.), the judges of the Sīn canal district" and sealed with the "iron seal ring" of Ipradāta. On the etymology see Eilers 1936, p. 176, n. 1 (the Old Iranian Fradāta-, cf. Fradatēs in Greek sources and Parthian Prdt).

159. Iprāduparna' (Ip-ra-a-du-par-na-a', BE 10, 114:5,6; PBS 2/1, 138:U.E.), an *ustarbaru* official. In 418 B.C. he was issued through his manager Parruḫatu (q.v.) 60 *kur* (10,800 liters) of barley as rent for a field near Nippur (BE 10, 114). PBS 2/1, 138; drafted in 417 B.C., has another of his managers as a witness. On the name see Eilers 1936, p. 173, n. 1 (on p. 176); Driver in AD, p. 59 (\*Fradā-farnah-, "he who makes fortune"; cf. also Fratafernēs in Greek sources and PRDPRN in Aramaic papyri, Kornfeld, p. 110).

160. Iskuduru (Is-ku-du-ru-u', PBS 2/1, 116:5; Is-ku-du-ru. *ibid.*, 122:7; Us-ku-du-ru-u', BE 9, 74:4), whose son Ispataru (q.v., *b*) in 425-418 B.C. held a bow fief belonging to the *ḫatru* of the Areians settled in the Nippur region. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p.

225, s.v. \**skudrva*-; cf. Szemerényi, s.v. Skudra- ("the Skudrian," i.e., Thracian).

161. Iskutikku (Is-ku-ti-ik-ku, TMH 2/3, 204: 2,8,16, rev. 22), a slave whose master Girparna' (q.v.) was an official subordinate to the Persian prince Arbareme according to a document drafted in Nippur in 419 B.C. On the etymology see Zadok 1977, p. 102 (\**Skauθika*-, "the poor one").

162. Isparda (Is-pa-ar-da-a', PBS 2/1, 70:5), whose son Barikia (a Semitic name) was the manager of Parnuš (q.v.) in Nippur in 421 B.C. According to Zadok, this name may be either Iranian or Lycian (Zadok 1977, p. 101). Perhaps it contains Old Iranian \**sparda*-, "shield."

163. Ispatara'. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 266 (with previous literature): \**vispa-tarva*-, "Allüberwinder"; cf., however, Zadok 1977, p. 95. The name is also attested in one Elamite text from Persepolis in the form Mišbaturma, see Mayrhofer in OnP 8:1119.

a) Ū-zu-pa-a'-tu-ra-a' (Dar. 375:23), a witness of a guaranty given in Babylon in 508 B.C. for a debtor. His patronymic is lost.

b) Is-pa-ta-ru-u' (PBS 2/1, 116:12; 122:7; 139:8), son of Iskuduru (q.v.) and holder of a bow fief in Šalammu, near Nippur, rented to the Murašû firm. He belonged to the *ḫaṭru* of the Achaemenid soldiers and is mentioned in documents dated in 425–417 B.C. In BE 9, 74:4,11, he is called Us-pa-ta-ru-u', son of Us-ku-du-ru-u'.

c) I-si-pa-ta-ra-a'-ú (BE 9, 28a:4,7; I-si-pa-ta-ru-u'-ú, *ibid.*, Lo.E.), son of Paṭiduru'u (q.v.). In 434 B.C. in Nippur, he paid royal tax due on his land through the Murašû firm.

164. Ispaudu (Is-pa-ú-du, Michigan Collection 46:1,4,9), son of Atebaga'. In 461 B.C. (if the king referred to was Artaxerxes I) he rented a field for twenty years to a Babylonian, who in payment was to plant it with date palms. The place where the text was drafted is not indicated, but it was found at Borsippa. His father had an Iranian name, but the etymology of Ispaudu is unknown. Cf. Zadok 1977, p. 99. According to V. Livshits, this name might render Iranian \**spa-uda*- "he who raises streams."

165. Ispēšu (Is-pi-e-šú, TMH 2/3, 184:17), whose son Šum-iddin (a Babylonian name) was chief of the brewers (LÚ *rab sirašī*). The Murašû firm paid royal tax due on the fields belonging to these brewers in Nippur in 420 B.C. According to Zadok, this is an Iranian name \**Višpa-iša-* meaning "seeking everything" (Zadok 1975, p. 245; idem 1977, p. 102).

166. Ispītammu. This is the Avestan name Spitāma- (Spitamās/Spithamēs in Greek sources). See Abaev 1956, p. 51; Hinz in ASN, pp. 226f.

a) Is-pi-i-ta-am-mu (PBS 2/1, 27:9; Is-pi-i-ta-am, ibid. 29:13), foreman of the *ḥaṭru* of the scribes of the army (PBS 2/1, 29:6). In 423 B.C. he paid royal taxes due on their lands located near Nippur that had been rented out to the Murašû firm.

b) Is-pi-ta-ma-a' (EEMA 109:5,6), son of Pātēšu. In 424 B.C. in Nippur a slave of the Persian prince Aršāma, a prince (q.v.) complained to the "satrap" and to Ispītama' and his slave Baga'dātu (q.v., j) that a member of the Murašû house had plundered his property. Hüsing and König assume that Pātēšu and Ispītammu were the Petisas and his son Spitamēs mentioned by Ctesias as emissaries sent to Megabyzos when he rebelled against Artaxerxes I (Hüsing, p. 53; König 1972, p. 78). According to Stolper, this identification is corroborated by this text (EEMA, p. 94). Ispītammu *a* and *b* might be the same person.

c) Is-si-pi-ta-am-ma (Yale Babylonian Collection 11562, unpublished; Stolper 1987, p. 395), owner of a field rented to Bēlšunu, the governor of Babylon. In 415 B.C. he received the rent in dates. The text was probably drafted somewhere near Babylon).

167. Ištabuzana'. On this name see Eilers in IBKU, p. 106, n. 4; Zadok 1977, p. 101 (\**Višta-baujana-*).

a) Iš-ta-bu-za-nu (BE 10. 8:8; 20:12, etc.), Iš-ta-bu-za-na-a' (TMH 2/3, 185:12, etc.), Uš-ta-bu-za-na-a' (BE 10, 50:13, etc.), a judge of the Sīn canal district often mentioned with Ḥumardātu (q.v.) or Bēlšunu in Murašû documents drafted in Nippur in 423–419 B.C. Patronymics of these judges are never mentioned. Various documents were written before them and sealed with their seals (Eilers in IBKU, pp. 66f., n. 3). A



number of texts were drafted before Bēlšunu and Ištabuzana' or before Humardātu and Ištabuzana'. One document (TMH 2/3, 185:13-14) mentions Ištabuzana' with Nabû-mīt-uballit, a Babylonian judge of the same district.

See also BE 10, 18:14, U.E.; 22:9, U.E.; 24:11, Lo.E.; 25:11; 26:15, R.E.; 32:14, U.E.; 34:15, U.E.; 35:14, R.E.; 36:14, U.E.; 37:11, U.E.; 41:12, L.E.; 42:11, R; 45:13, Lo.E.; 46:17, U.E.; PBS 2/1, 6:13, U.E.; 42:9; 103:9, U.E.; 151:10, U.E.; 152:U.E.; 153:8, Lo.E.; 156:13; 176:13; 179:12, L.E.; 180:13, U.E.; 185:13, U.E.; EEMA 81:9.

b) Uš-ta-bu-za-na-a' (BE 9, 74:5; see also PBS 2/1, 116:6), whose son Bēl-ittannu owned a bow fief in Šalammu (near Nippur) in 425 B.C. He belonged to the group of the Arian soldiers. Eilers identifies him with Ištabuzana' a (IBKU, p. 6, n. 3).

168. Kakā. On the name see Hinz in ASN, p. 145 s.v. \**kākā* "Bruder," "Onkel" (with previous literature); Zadok 1977, p. 112 ("probably an *-i*-patronymic of \**kaka*- uncle"). This name is often mentioned in Elamite tablets from Persepolis in the form Ka-ak-ka (Haddock in PF, p. 707). Cf. K'k, attested as a proper name in Choresmian inscriptions from Tok-kala, and the Middle Persian *kāk* (Dandamayev 1975, p. 231 with a reference to V. Livshits).

a) Ka-ki-ia (Dar. 51:2), Ka-ki!-ia (ibid. 57:4), a Mede (*Ma-da-a-a*). Dar. 51, a document from the archive of the Egibi business house drafted in Babylon before two witnesses in 520 B.C., states that a member of the Egibi house (Šiški, son of Itti-Marduk-balātu) was to pay Kakā five *kur* (900 liters) of dates in Babylon to a specified time. Though the origin of the debt is not indicated, it can be assumed that the document records rent to be paid on a field rented by Kakā to the Egibi house. The note was drafted before two witnesses who also appear in Dar. 57. Moreover, both documents were written by the same scribe. The badly damaged Dar. 57 was drafted in Babylon in the same year with the same scribe and witnesses and shows that a Median woman, Uhiia by name, and her husband Kakā lived in Babylon in a house rented from a Babylonian. They also rented furniture, utensils, and a female slave from the above-mentioned Šiški (cf. BRL 3, p. 7; Eilers 1940, p. 202, n. 4).

b) Ka-ak-ka-a (Stigers, no. 22:1), whose son Uzā (q.v.) bought a slave woman in 503 B.C. in URU Giššu.

c) Ka-ka! (EEMA 47:5), Ka-ka-a' (BE 10, 66:4,9), Ka-ku-na/nu (PBS 2/1, 116:8; 122:4; 139:9), Ka-[ku]-na-a' (BE 9, 74:7), father of the Baga'dāta and Tīridāta (q.vv.) who held bow fiefs allotted to Arian soldiers in the Nippur region in 425–418 B.C.

d) Ka-ka-a (TMH 2/3, 237:21), mentioned in an undated list of some persons whose names, except Kakā, are Semitic. Zadok supposes that the text was drafted in Borsippa (Zadok 1977, p. 90).

169. Kamakka (Ka-ma-ak-ka, VAS 6, 171:23), father of the "Persian" Aḥšēti' (q.v., a) who witnessed in a legal document drafted in Dilbat during Darius I's reign. For literature on the name see Hinz in ASN, p. 145; Zadok 1977, p. 108, n. 200 (\*Kāmaka-).

170. Kambuzija (Kam-bu-zi-iá, Camb. 26:4, etc.; Ka-am-bu-zi-ia, ibid. 39:15, etc.; Gam-bu-zi-iá, ibid. 261:19; Kám-bu-zi-ia/iá, Cyr. 177:1, etc.; Kám-zi-ia, Camb. 203:7, etc., and other forms), the Old Persian Kambūjija-. On the etymology see Abaev 1971, pp. 262–276; Eilers 1974, p. 54f.; Harmatta, pp. 6f. (with previous literature).

Cambyes II (530–522 B.C.). For references to Babylonian documents dated in his reign see Dandamayev 1984, p. 14; McEwan in OECT 10, p. 12; Lee, p. 49. For Cambyes' activities in Babylonia see Oppenheim 1985, pp. 554–559.

On his Babylonian cylinder Cyrus II says that the god Marduk blessed not only him but also his "own son" Cambyes (Oppenheim 1985, p. 547). In 538 B.C. Cyrus made Cambyes king of Babylon. A badly damaged passage in the Babylonian chronicle reports that, in order to legitimize his appointment, Cambyes participated in the ritual prescribed for the king at the traditional New Year festival on March 27, 538 B.C., accepting the royal scepter from the hands of Marduk in Esagila, the god's temple in Babylon (ABC, p. 111, col. III: 24–28; cf. Oppenheim 1974, p. 3501; Idem 1985, pp. 554f.).

Cambyes was king of Babylon and of the northern part of Mesopotamia while central and southern Babylonia were left under direct control of Cyrus and his officials. In documents of that period

Cambyses is called "King of Babylon" while his father bore the title "King of the Lands." The date formulae are of two types. A number of documents are dated in the "first year of Cambyses, King of Babylon, the son of Cyrus, King of the Lands." Other tablets have "the first year of Cyrus, King of the Lands, Cambyses, King of Babylon," or "the first year of Cambyses, King of Babylon—this time Cyrus, his father, (was) King of the Lands" (for references see Petschow 1988, pp. 81f.). All these texts are dated in the first whole regnal year of Cyrus, February 538 through February 537 B.C. (cf. Petschow 1988, pp. 78, 81). Some dozens of other documents are dated in the "first year of Cambyses, King of Babylon," without reference to Cyrus. These tablets probably belong to 538–537 B.C. when Cambyses had not yet become the king of the Achaemenid empire. In 530 B.C., he assumed the title "King of Babylon, King of the Lands."

According to Dubberstein, Cyrus made Cambyses king of Babylon not in 538 but in 530 B.C., just before he undertook his fatal campaign against the Massagetae in Central Asia, and kept the title "King of the Lands" for himself (Dubberstein, pp. 417–419). However, this obviously contradicts the date formula of Cyr. 16: "the first year of Cyrus, King of the Lands, (and) Cambyses, King of Babylon." This document certainly belongs to 538 B.C. Therefore it is quite evident that Cambyses was already king of Babylon in 538 B.C. Stolper has also pointed out that CT 57, no. 56, refers to the 17th regnal year of Nabonidus and is dated in "the first year of Cambyses, King of Babylon, son of Cyrus, King of the Lands" (in EEMA, p. 5, n. 7; cf. also Frame, pp. 747f., n. 11).

As for southern and central Babylonia, documents from Nippur and Uruk are dated only in the first year of Cyrus, King of the Lands. Thus, the power of Cambyses did not extend to that territory.

Shea (pp. 99ff.) has reexamined the question of Cambyses' *Unterkönigtum*. He proposes that Cyrus became king of Babylon about fourteen months after his conquest of that city and that before that time he bore the title "King of the Lands." According to Shea, Ugbāru, the general of Cyrus, was king of Babylon until Cyrus assumed this title. However, there is no evidence that Ugbāru was a vassal king. Besides, as we have above seen, a document has been preserved dated in "the

first year of Cyrus, King of the Lands, (and) Cambyses, King of Babylon" (Cyr. 16). This text shows beyond any doubt that Cyrus appointed Cambyses, not Ugbāru, king of Babylon (see also San Nicolò 1941, pp. 51-54).

After the Persian conquest of Mesopotamia, Cambyses continued to spend much of his time in Babylon and Sippar. Legal documents drafted in Sippar in 536 and 534 B.C. refer to a steward and to a scribe-interpreter "of the crown prince" Cambyses (VAS 5, 129:22: LÚ SAG É šá DUMU LUGAL; Cyr. 199:11 LÚ *se-pi-ru* šá É DUMU LUGAL). TCL 13, 153 and VAS 3, 71 drafted in 527 and 523 B.C. respectively, mention the "steward of the royal palace of Borsippa." Cyr. 335, drafted in Babylon in 530 B.C., refers to an official (line 9: LÚ SAG) "of the crown prince" Cambyses. See also Cyr. 270 and 335, referring to managers of the prince Cambyses in Babylon in 532 and 530 B.C. One of Prince Cambyses' slaves in Babylon was a seal-cutter who taught other persons his craft (Cyr. 325:5: LÚ *pur-qul* LÚ *qal-la* šá...DUMU LUGAL). Cambyses was also involved in usury, lending money on security through his agent in Babylon. Thus, in 535 B.C. a scribe-interpreter of Cambyses lent one mina twenty shekels of silver from the property of Cambyses to a member of the Egibi business house, with the house of the debtor as security and another person as guarantor (Cyr. 177).

Until recently, BE 8, 74, and VAS 5, 42, have been considered the latest Babylonian texts dated in Cyrus' reign. The first was drafted in Nippur on the thirteenth day of the month Abu in Cyrus' ninth regnal year (2 August 530 B.C.). The second was drafted in Borsippa in the same year on the twenty-third day of an indeterminate month, for which the sign is indistinct. San Nicolò and Ungnad have read this sign as Ulūlu (NRV, p. 29), giving 12 September 530 B.C. Parker and Dubberstein (p. 14) point to a text from Babylon dated in the twelfth day of Ulūlu in the year of Cambyses' accession as King of Babylon, King of Lands (31 August 530 B.C.; see Camb. 1) and read the sign as Abu, giving 12 August 530 B.C. Their view has been generally accepted, even though the disputed sign cannot be read as Abu. Another document (OECT 10, 123) now provides a later date for the end of Cyrus' reign, a promissory note discovered at Kish dated the nineteenth of

Arašsamna in the ninth year of Cyrus, King of Babylon. King of the Lands (4 December 530 B.C.). Therefore, Cyrus and Cambyses must have simultaneously held the title "King of Babylon, King of the Lands" for at least three months. It seems that Cyrus appointed Cambyses as joint ruler before his expedition against the Massagetae. According to Herodorus (1, 208), Cambyses joined the campaign against the Massagetae but later, as successor to the throne, was sent back to Persia before the decisive battle in which Cyrus perished.

171. Kansakka' (Kán-sak-ka-a', BE 9, 76:12), whose son Iqīša (a Babylonian name) was one of the witnesses in a contract drafted in Nippur in 425 B.C. Zadok reads this name as Kar(?) - sak-ka-a' (from \**kṛsaka*-, see Zadok 1977, p. 103), but the sign *kán/gán* cannot be read as *kar*. It can be read as *kár* but such a meaning for this sign is not attested for the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods. Perhaps this name renders Iranian \**kančaka*- (cf. Hinz in ASN, p. 144 s.v. \**kačaka*-).

172. Kardara (Ka-ar-da-ra-a', Camb. 384:6), a slave woman sold in Ḫumadēšu in 523 B.C. Cf. s.vv. Artarušu, Razamarma. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 149; Zadok 1976d, p. 77 (\**kāra-dāra*-, "having work?"). Perhaps "having an army" would be better.

173. Kargē (Kar-ge-e, BE 9, 39:7 EEMA 1:14, [rev.], whose son Dārparna' (q.v., a) witnessed two documents drafted in 431 B.C. in Nippur. The name is apparently Iranian, but the etymology is unknown. Cf. \**kṛka*- in ASN, p. 152 and *Kur-ka* in OnP 8.874 ("cock").

174. Karguš (Kar-gu-uš, BE 10, 76:5,11, R), a "foreman of the lance bearers" (ibid., line 5: LU šak-nu šá LU áš-te-ba-ri-an-na). In Nippur in 421 B.C., a slave of Karguš, Pirrina'niš by name, rented some fields owned by these lance bearers in Bīt-Ḫaddija and Milidu to the Murašû house for an annual rent of 5 *kur* 3 *sūt* (990 liters) of barley and 2 *kur* (360 liters) of spelt. The name is apparently Iranian but its etymology is unexplained. Cf. above Kargē.

The title *aštabarru* is attested for Aspabar (q.v.). For this Old

Iranian word (*arštibara*) see Eilers in IBKU, p. 106, n. 3; AHW, p. 85; CAD A/II, p. 472.

175. Kartakku (Kar-tak-ku, BE 10, 58:13; PBS 2/1, 172:12; 193:18, Lo. E; Ka-ar-ta-ku, PBS 2/1, 84:4), whose son Nidintu-Šamaš was a slave of the Persian prince Artahšar and in 422–420 B.C. carried out various orders of his master. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 148 (\**kārataka*, "Heerläufer"). Cf. also Zadok 1977, p. 105.

176. Kartam (Ka-ar-ta-am, EEMA 107:10), whose son Nariāspi (q.v.) owned land near Nippur in the fifth century B.C. On the name see Zadok 1976c, p. 68 (\**kṛta-tama*- "the most praised").

177. Kēki (Ke-e-ki, VAS 6, 226:edge), mentioned, probably as a witness, in a badly damaged contract drafted in 428 B.C. in or near Borsippa. See Zadok 1977, p. 99 where the name, following Hinz, is explained from \**kaika*-, "flea." Cf. also the Iranian name Qa-i-qa attested in an Elamite text from Persepolis (Hinz in ASN, p. 144, s.v. \**kaika*-).

178. Kēprada'/Dēprada' (Ke-e-ep-ra-da-a, BE 9, 106:3, father of Bagēšu; De-e-ep-ra-da-a', BE 10, 50:6; De-e'-ep-ra-da-a', PBS 2/1, 192:5, father of Bēlšunu), whose sons held bow fiefs granted to Achaemenid soldiers in the Nippur region. These texts record rent paid for their land by the Murašû house in 424–422 B.C. Apparently, his name is Iranian and should be read Dēprada'. He gave one of his sons the Iranian name Bagēšu (q.v.) and the other the Babylonian name Bēlšunu; cf. Zadok 1977, p. 119.

179. Kupēšu (Ku-pi-e-šû, PBS 2/1, 100:12; Joannès, p. 114, no. 88: rev. 4), a witness to contracts drafted in Nippur in 420 and 418 B.C. His title is broken off. Zadok derives this name from \**kaufaiča*- (\**kaufa*-, "mountain," with the hypocoristic suffix -*aiča*-, see Zadok 1976c, p. 68).

180. Kuraš, the Old Persian Kūru-, Cyrus (Kent, p. 180; on the etymology see Abaev 1967, pp. 288ff.; Eilers 1974, pp. 53ff.).

a) Cyrus I (ca. 640–600 B.C.), mentioned in Assurbanipal cylinders from Nineveh and Babylon as king of the land of Parsumaš (*Ku-ra-aš* LUGAL *Par-su-ma-aš*; Thompson, pp. 80ff., pls. 20f., line 115; Weidner, p. 3, line 7). Cf. [K]u(?)*-raš* on a seal from Persepolis (Hallock in PF, p. 115; Hinz 1971, p. 300).

b) Cyrus II, who ruled Babylonia in 539–530 B.C. For Babylonian administrative, economic, and legal documents dated in his reign see Dandamayev 1984, p. 13; McEwan in OECT 10, p. 12; cf. Roth, pp. 482f.; Petschow 1987, pp. 44f. The following forms of his name are attested in Babylonian texts: *Ku-ra-šú*, Cyl. 52:7, etc.; *Ku-ur-ra-šú*, ibid. 3:29, etc.; *Ku-ur-šú*, ibid. 222:13, etc.; *Ku-raš*, YOS 7, 37:18, etc.; *Ku-ra-áš*, ibid. 40:9, etc.; *Kur-áš*, ibid. 42:24. Cf. *Ku-kur-ra-áš* in CT 57, 150:10; 401:7 (Petschow 1987, p. 45; idem in N.A.B.U., 1987 p. 51).

The Cyrus cylinder, found in Babylon and containing a justification of Cyrus' claim to rule Babylon, is well-known. Berger has identified a tablet from the Babylonian Section, Yale University, as being a second fragment of the Cyrus cylinder (Berger, pp. 192ff.). In addition, two Babylonian inscriptions on brick are known that mention Cyrus. One discovered in Ur contains the genealogy of Cyrus and then has Cyrus say of himself: "The great gods have delivered all the lands into my hands...I have made the land to dwell (in) a peaceful habitation" (UET 1, no. 194; CBI, p. 94, no. 116). The second inscription comes from Uruk and calls Cyrus a caretaker of the Babylonian temples Esagila and Ezida (Schott, plate 31; CBI, p. 94, no. 115; cf. Oppenheim 1985, p. 153).

c) *Ku-ur-ra-šú* (VAS 3, 55:14), whose son Mardû (q.v.) witnessed a contract drafted in Babylon in 541 B.C. The same tablet also mentions several persons with Elamite names. Zadok thus proposes that *Kurrašu* was an Elamite name (Zadok 1976d, p. 63). But Mardû looks like an Iranian name. Even if *Kurrašu* was an Elamite—and his ethnic origin is not indicated in the text—it seems more probable that he was given an Iranian name. Thus, an Elamite bore the Iranian name *Niriabignu* (q.v.; cf. also *Kur-raš* in a text from Susa, see Scheil 1907, no. 98:rev.1). There is no doubt that as a result of centuries of contacts, the Elamites frequently gave their children Iranian names (see 157 below).

181. *Kusdana'* (*Ku-us-da-na-a'*, BE 9, 32:4), owner of a field near

Nippur bordering on the land of Attamarga' (q.v.). The document where he is referred to was drafted in Nippur in 433 B.C. See Zadok 1976c, p. 68 (\*kavi-usadan-).

182. Madbannu (Mad-ban-nu LU ma-aq-tu šá KUR ma-da-a-a; Mad-ban-ni LU ma-da-a-a ma-aq-tú, *Mélanges Dussaud*, p. 930, "Madbannu, a refugee from Media," "Madbannu, a Median refugee"), a recipient of oil in a ration-list from 592 B.C. To judge from the allowances issued to him, he was the chief of some Median emigrants at the court of Nebuchadnezzar II and received foodstuffs for the whole group (Weidner in *Mélanges Dussaud*, p. 930). His name can also be read Kur-ban-nu, a typical Babylonian name. If this is correct, he must have taken it after his escape to Babylonia. Zadok assumes that Madbannu is an Iranian name: \*Mad-bānu-, "(equipped) with splendour" (1976d, p. 66, with a reference to I. Gershevitch).

183. Madumītu (fMa-du-mi-i-tum, BE 9, 39:2; fMa-du-u'-mi-i-tum, PBS 2/1, 75:3), a lady of Parysatis' court. According to BE 9, 39 drafted in Nippur in 431 B.C., the Murašû firm paid her two minas of silver through Ludaku, son of Bēl-aḥ-iddin, the steward of the Iranian nobleman Artarēme, as rent for her fields. She is identified as being in the retinue of Amisiri' (q.v.). Ten years later the Murašû house paid her 72 *kur* (12,960 liters) of dates as annual rent for her land. This time the payment was made through Ea-bullissu, the steward of queen Parysatis (Purušatiš, q.v.), and Madumītu is designated as a lady of her court (PBS 2/1, 75; cf. Stolper in *EEMA*, p. 64). Zadok interprets her name as "a Median woman" and connects it with the words TUG *e-le-ni-tum ma-du-u'-it-tum* (*EEMA* 93:1), "a Median upper garment" (Zadok 1977, p. 113).

184. Maḥiagamma (Ma-ḥi-a-ga-am-mu, PBS 2/1, 30:23), mentioned in a broken context as the father of a witness at the payment of a royal tax in Nippur in 423 B.C. According to Zadok (1977, p. 107, n. 194), this name is probably a defective spelling of Uḥējagam.

185. Manuštānu (Ma-nu-uš-ta-nu, BE 9, 75:7,9; 83:9,14,20; TMH 2/3,



202:4,8 = BE 9, 84; EEMA 27:14; 56:5,6; 59:[1],3,4,6,8; Man-nu-uš-ta-na-a', TMH 2/3, 180:10), son of Artarēme (q.v.), an Achaemenid prince (LÚ *mār bīti*; cf. TMH 2/3, 202:4 LÚ *mār-bīt šarri*, "son of the royal house") referred to in documents from Nippur dated in 425-424 B.C.

The Murašû house paid one mina of silver as royal tax due on a number of bow fiefs in Larak (BE 9, 83). The payment was made through Unnatu, the overseer of the *šušānu*-workmen of the treasury (line 8: É *nak-kan-du*), a slave of Manuštānu. Another slave of Manuštānu was a witness. According to BE 9, 75, the Murašû firm paid three and a half minas of silver as royal taxes for fiefs of the *ḥaṭru* of *šušānu*. Two persons were authorized by Manuštānu to receive the taxes. One was a collector of taxes (LÚ *dēkû*). Having a written order with Manuštānu's seal, they were to write a receipt and hand it over to the Murašû firm.

BE 9, 84 (= TMH 2/3, 202) is a receipt for unspecified rent paid by the Murašû firm for lands stretching from Nippur to the Kabaru canal and belonging to Manuštānu. The payment was made in 424 B.C. through three messengers of Mankija, Manuštānu's slave. The same slave acted as a witness in TMH 2/3, 180:10, drafted in 425 B.C. At that time Artarēme, the father of Manuštānu, was still alive since an official subordinate to him was a witness in BE 9, 84. According to EEMA 59, Manuštānu ordered his slave Pamunu to receive 4,000 *kur* (720,000 liters) of barley from a member of the Murašû firm, in addition to 1,000 *kur* (180,000 liters) of barley which had already been issued, probably as rent Manuštānu's land. The date of the tablet has not been preserved. One more slave of Manuštānu (Ḫarmahī) is mentioned in EEMA 27. The text is damaged and probably records a three-year lease of extensive lands managed by Manuštānu to the Murašû house. In EEMA 56:5 Manuštānu is referred to in a broken context.

Thus, Manuštānu held an important administrative position in Babylonia. Hüsing was the first to identify this Manuštānu with Menostanēs, son of Artarios, mentioned by Ctesias (Hüsing, p. 51). According to Ctesias, Artarios was the satrap of Babylonia and a brother of Artaxerxes I. Menostanēs was sent by Artaxerxes as the commander of an army which marched against Megabyzos, who had

revolted against the Persian king. Later Menostanēs supported Sogdianus (Secyndianus) in his struggle with Darius II for the throne and perished after the victory of Darius (König 1972, pp. 15f., nos. 38–39). Stolper has accepted this identification (Stolper 1983, pp. 232f.).

On the etymology see Eilers 1936, p. 164, n. 1; Hinz in ASN, p. 159 (Manušāna-).

186. Mardû (Mar-du-ú, VAS 3, 55:7,13, rev.), son of Kurrašu (s.v. Kuraš c), a “chariot driver” (LU *mukil appāti*) and witness to a promissory note drafted in Babylon in 541 B.C. Like rich Babylonians, he had his own measuring container for grain. Zadok assumes that the name could be either Elamite as a component of Mardunugaš (Scheil 1907, no. 145:10) or Iranian from \*Mṛdva-, “soft, mild” (Zadok 1976d, p. 62). Cf. EW, p. 880, where this name is considered Elamite. The same dictionary also refers to Mar-du-u in a Neo-Assyrian letter (ABL 179:4,10). Cf. below Neba'mardu, attested for a Persian prince.

187. Mardunija, a name known from the Behistun inscription (Kent, p. 203 s.v. Marduniya-; cf. also Mardonios in Greek sources and Mar-du-ni-ia in the Babylonian version of the Behistun inscription, line 111; see for literature Schmitt 1967, p. 121, n. 16; Idem 1989, p. 359).

a) Mar-di-ni-ia (Evetts, Appendix, no. 4:2), some of whose property is mentioned in a broken context of a promissory note drafted in 482 B.C. The name of the place at which the document was drafted is not preserved.

b) Ma-ar-du-ni-ia (PBS 2/1, 37:4), to judge from a damaged text, the steward of the Persian prince Dadaršu (q.v.). In 423 B.C. he received rent for his master's land near Nippur.

c) A certain Mar-du-ni-iá, referred to in the unpublished text VAT 15633 (Eilers 1940, p. 222, n. 3).

188. Marza' (Mar-za-a' LU NIM.MA.KI-ú, Mélanges Dussaud, p. 928, pl. III B, rev. II:14), an “Elamite” who lived in Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar II and was issued some measures of vegetable oil. Zadok considers this name either Elamite or Iranian from \*marza-, “march, border” (1976d, p. 62). Cf. EW, p. 891, where the name is

treated as Iranian. Cf. also Ma-ra-za/Mar-ra-za in Elamite texts from Persepolis (Mayrhofer in OnP 8.967).

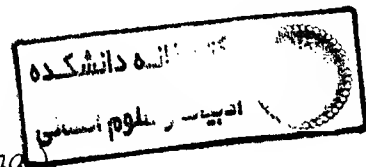
189. Masanni (Ma-sa-an-ni, VAS 6, 244:6), who delivered some bricks. The tablet is very damaged and its date is unknown. This name may refer to the Old Iranian \*masan- "great, significant" (Zadok 1979a, p. 297).

190. Masdiesu (Mas-di-e-su, Camb. 85:4), son of Šarru-il-ú-a, a fief holder with a Babylonian patronymic. The document was drafted in Babylon in 528 B.C. and records a decision of Egyptian elders in Babylon about the cultivation of several fiefs. The other fief holders had Egyptian and Semitic names. Zadok reads the name as Maz-di-e-su, proposing that it renders the Old Iranian \*Mazda-isa-. The first sign, however, does not have the meaning *maz*.

191. Mašduku (Maš-du-ku, BM 54091:15, unpublished), one of several judges mentioned in a contract of sale for a field in Tamirtu Bīt-pānija drafted in the fourth regnal year of Artaxerxes (461 B.C., if it was Artaxerxes I). This name is attested in Neo-Babylonian inscriptions for rulers of some regions of western Iran in the forms Ma-aš-da-ku, Ma-aš-dak-ku, etc. Cf. also Maš-tuk-ka and Ma-aš-da-ik-ka in Elamite texts from Persepolis (Grantovskij, pp. 253ff.; Hinz in ASN, p. 164, s.v. \*mazdaka-; Mayrhofer in OnP 8.1020).

192. Mazaios, a Babylonian satrap and friend of Darius III who distinguished himself during the battle of Gaugamela in 331 B.C. Sometime later he surrendered Babylon to Alexander the Great and retained his post under him. He died in 328 B.C. (Arrian, *Anabasis* 3,7,1-2; 3,8,6; 3,16,3-4; Curtius 5,1,17 and 44; Diodorus Siculus 16,42,2; 17,55,1-2; 17,58,2; Plutarch, *Alex.* 32). Cf. Zadok 1977, p. 97. On the name see Hinz in ASN, p. 164 (\*Mazdāyā).

193. Mazdaisna' (Ma-az-da-is/iz-na-a'), mentioned in an unpublished document from the reign of Artaxerxes I (VAT 15610: rev. 4; see Eilers 1953, p. 23, n. 57). Cf. Hinz in ASN, p. 164; Zadok 1977, p. 98



(Median \**Mazda-yazna*- and Avestan *Mazda-yasna*).

194. Mi'da' (Mi-i'-da-a', OECT 10, 171:8), slave of Duḫumišda' (q.v.), who received repayment of a debt on his master's behalf. The document was drafted in Kish in 482 B.C. It seems that it is a retrenched name from \**vīda*- (cf. e.g. \**vīdāta*- in ASN, p. 260).

195. Mitrā (Mit-ra, Strassmaier, p. 149, no. 10:26; Mit-ra-a, ibid., line 31), son of Bēl-[...], in a document from Hellenistic Babylon. Cf. Mi-ut-ra, a retrenched theophorous name from \**Miθra*- in an Elamite text from Persepolis (Hallock in PF, p. 733; Mayrhofer in OnP 8.1167).

196. Mitrabarzana (MTRBZN, Jakob-Rost and Freydank, p. 20, no. 9), mentioned in an Aramaic docket discovered in Babylon from the reign of Artaxerxes I. It records payment of rent in dates and barley for some land. Cf. Mi-ut-ra-par-za-na in an Elamite tablet from Persepolis (Hallock in PF, p. 733; Mayrhofer in OnP 8.1171, where the name is derived from \**Miθra-brzāna*-; cf. also Mithrobarzanēs in Greek sources).

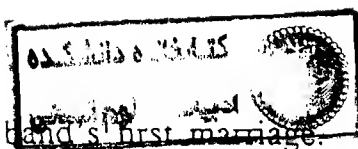
197. Mitradāta ("created by Mithra," see Hinz in ASN, p. 167), cf. Mithridatēs in classical sources.

a) Mi-it-ra-da-a-tú (BE 9, 48 = TMH 2/3, 144:1; Mit-ra-da-a-tú, ibid., line 14; Mit-ra-da-a-ti, ibid., line 33a), father of Baga'mīri (q.v., d) and brother of Rušundātu (q.v., a). The document was drafted in 429 B.C. in Nippur.

b) <sup>d</sup>Mit(it)-ri-da-a-ta (TMH 2/3, 147:24), son of Baga'zuštu (q.v.), the steward of the Achaemenid prince Dadaršu (q.v.). He witnessed a rent payment in 420 B.C. in the town of Enlil-ašabši-iqbi, near Nippur.

c) <sup>d</sup>Mi-tir-ri-a-da-da-a' (PBS 2/1, 159:5), an agent of the Murašû firm, mentioned without patronymic in a document drafted in Nippur in 423 B.C. Cf. s.v. Tirakam b.

d) Mit-ri-da-a-ta (UET 4, 1:2,12, seal 12; 2:2,12,37; Mit-ri-da-a-tú, ibid. 2:39), a royal official (LÚ rēš šarri) mentioned without patronymic in duplicate documents drafted in Ur in 396 B.C. These concern the adoption by the wife of one of his slaves of the children of her hus-



and's first marriage. Tumēa (q.v.), another of his slaves, was a witness.

e) Mithredath (Ezra 1:8; Joseph., Ant. Jud. 11,1,3), a royal treasurer (*gzbr*) in Babylon. At the order of Cyrus II, he made an inventory of the vessels brought to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar II from the Temple of Jerusalem and delivered them to Sheshbazzar, the governor of Judah.

198. Mitrāta. On the etymology ("gift of Mithra") see Benveniste 1966, p. 104 (\*Miθra-rāta-); Hinz in ASN, p. 168, with previous literature. The same name occurs in Elamite tablets from Persepolis in the forms of Mi-it-ra-da/Mi-is-ra-da, cf. Mayrhofer in OnP 8.1169.

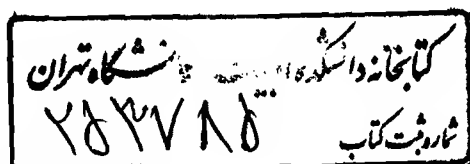
a) Mi-it-ra-a-ta (Dar. 509:22), whose son Nidintu witnessed a private contract from the archive of the Egibi business house drafted in Babylon in 502 B.C. Zadok (1977, p. 94) thinks that this Mitrāta was a Babylonian. More likely, he was an Iranian who gave his son a Babylonian name, since at such an early time as Darius I's reign a Babylonian could hardly bear an Iranian name (see pp. 171-172 below).

b) Mi-it-ra-a-tū (Dar. 274:4; BE 10, 114:U.E.; Mi-it-ra-tū, BE 10, 114:16), an Iranian who owned land near Borsippa that was rented to a Babylonian. Mitrāta's bailiff Niḥistū-ṭābi authorized Bēl-ušuršu, a slave of Mitrāta, to receive 3 *kur* (540 liters) of barley as the annual rent (Dar. 274; on the date of this document see Stolper 1987, p. 393). Niḥistū-ṭābi also witnessed a document drafted in Nippur in 418 B.C. recording a rent payment for a field belonging to an Iranian (BE 10, 114). Thus, this Mitrāta probably lived in Nippur and owned land near Borsippa.

199. Mitraen. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 167 (\*Miθrainā-, Mithrēnēs in Greek sources); Zadok 1976c, pp. 68f.; Schmitt 1978, pp. 395ff.).

a) Mi-it-re/ri-na-a' (Dar. 301:24), a witness, together with a certain Bagapāta (q.v., a) and several other persons, to a marriage contract drafted in Babylon in 511 B.C. His patronymic has been only partly preserved (Ú-[...]-dSīn) and apparently is a Babylonian theophorous name.

b) Mi-it-ra-en (BE 9, 59:6, 8.; 60:20, R); Mi-it-ra-a-a-ni (ibid. 59:12); Mi-it-ra-a'-in (ibid. 59:R); Mi-it-re-e-na-a' (EEMA 41:12; cf.



ibid., line 4 where the name is damaged); MTRYN (ibid. R in an Aramaic docket to the document), son of Marduk-šum-iddin, an agent of Tattannu, the steward of the royal household (LÚ *abarakku ša šarri*). In 429 B.C. in Nippur, Mitraen authorized a certain Nabû-ittannu to receive 30 *kur* (5,400 liters) of barley from the Murašû firm as a rent for land (EEMA 41). In 428 B.C. the Murašû firm paid 2,225 *kur* (400,500 liters) of barley and other kinds of grain as an annual rent (BE 9, 59). To judge from the text, the real recipient of the rent was King Artaxerxes I. The document is sealed with Mitraen's seal. This time he bears the title LÚ *mudalliḫu ša imitti ša Nār dSîn*, "supervisor (?) of the right side of the Sîn canal" (Stolper in EEMA, p. 39). In the same year Mitraen is listed as a witness in a rent contract drafted in Nippur (BE 9, 60). Zadok thinks that Mitraen "was in charge of the rent of the Sîn canal in 429/8-428/7" (Zadok, 1977, p. 106).

200. Mitraupasta (<sup>d</sup>Mit-ri-ú-pa-as-tum, CT 4, pl. 29d, Bu. 88-5-12, 514:4; the present number of the tablet is BM 78603), mentioned in a Seleucid document from 304 B.C. discovered in Babylon, although the place where it was drafted is not indicated in the text. The document records the purchase of a horse for Mitraupasta. McEwan identifies him with the Mithropastes who in Greek sources was son of Arsitēs, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia (1985, pp. 171f.). For literature on the name see Hinz in ASN, p. 168 ("Mithra-Beistand"). Perhaps it would be better to interpret the name as "(possessing) the help of Mithra."

201. Mizdabigin (Mi-iz-da-bi-gi-in, BE 10, 69:14, Lo.E.), father of Eabullissu (a Babylonian name), who witnessed a document recording the payment of royal taxes on lands belonging to the *ḫaṭru* of the "Cimmerians." On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 163 ("Mazdāh-Gabe" ?); Zadok 1977, p. 101 (\*Mazda-bigna-).

202. Mizdaešu (Mi-iz-da-e-šú, BE 9, 12:12), whose son Adabaga' (q.v. *a*) was a judge of the Sîn canal district in Nippur in 437 B.C. On the etymology see Zadok 1977, p. 101 (\*Mazda-aiša-, "Mazda-seeker"; but it is possibly a retrenched name from Mazda- with a hypocoristic suffix *-aiča*).



203. Mundaparnu (Mun-da-par-nu, Porter, pl. 77g = Oppert and Ménant, pp. 285-90, line 6; according to Borger, p. 234, the present inventory number of the tablet at the British Museum is BM 66810; on the text see van der Spek, pp. 202ff. and Oelsner 1986, p. 235), governor in Babylonia (LÚ NAM) in 308/7 B.C. (Oelsner 1964, p. 267). Cf. van der Spek, pp. 202 and 203 where the name is read in-da-par-na. See also Zadok 1977, p. 127. The same name is known from the Behistun inscription in the form of Vi(n)dafarnah- (Kent, p. 208; cf. also Intaphernēs in Greek sources). Cf. below s.v. Umintaparna'.

204. Munnatu. On the etymology q.v. Unuatta.

a) Mu-un-na-tú (TMH 2/3, 187:6, 9, Le.E.); <Mu>-un-na-tú (PBS 2/1, 226:13), son of Biesu (q.v.), the bailiff of Nukāma, the foreman of "grooms" (*kizû*). In 419 B.C. in Nippur he received two minas of silver from the Murašû firm as royal tax due on the bow fiefs of these grooms (TMH 2/3, 187). In 417 B.C. he witnessed a rent payment for bow fiefs belonging to the *ḥaṭru* of *šušānu*-workmen (PBS 2/1, 226).

b) Mun-na-tú (EEMA 35:4, 7, Lo.E. and Le.E.), son of Uma'piria. He owned a field near Nippur and in 432 B.C. was paid rent in silver. The document is sealed with his seal-ring and also contains his nail-mark. However, Zadok reads the name as Mu-un-na-par (1989/90, p. 274; cf. the Egyptian name Wnn-nfr.w). This reading seems very probable since a certain Mu-un-na-pa-ri, son of Nanâ-iddin, was a party to a contract in 422 B.C. (VAS 3,194).

205. Nabarzanu, the Old Iranian \*Nabābrzāna- (Zadok 1977, pp. 126f., with previous literature).

a) Nabarzanes, a general and chiliarch in Babylon under Darius III (Arrian, *Anabasis* 3, 21, 1; Curtius 5, 10, 1, etc.).

b) Na-bar-za-nu (CT 49, 6:2), possibly the same man. In the ninth regnal year of Alexander the Great (328 B.C.; cf. Zadok 1977, pp. 126f.) Baruqa, a slave of Nabarzanu, paid the Esagila temple in Babylon one mina of silver as his tithe.

206. Nabūgu (Na-bu-ú-gu, YOS 7, 137:22; Na-bu-gu, *ibid.* 177:7; 192:7, 11), whose father Gubāru (q.v., *b*) was the well-known satrap

under Cyrus II and Cambyses. According to YOS 7, 137, five persons who had committed various crimes were put in shackles and kept in prison at the Eanna temple in Uruk, among them runaway temple slaves. In 527 B.C., the temple authorities ordered two persons to take these criminals to Babylon and "place them in the charge of Nabūgu, son of Gubāru, the governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River." In 525 B.C. in Uruk two persons guaranteed that a certain Ili'-Marduk "will go with them to Babylon into the presence of Nabūgu" (YOS 7, 177). To judge from YOS 7, 192, drafted in Uruk in 523 B.C., a temple shepherd was robbed of his donkey and a quiver which contained Nabūgu's letter (line 7: *ši-pir-tum*).

Zadok also reads the name of Nabūgu in BE 8, 87:6 (1977, p. 91; idem 1975, pp. 245f.). Apparently this is a misprint and the line number is 4, where perhaps the name can be read Na-bu(!?)-gu. The place at which the tablet was drafted is not preserved and its contents are obscure. It seems that a man dependent on Nabūgu was arrested by someone. Finally, according to Erm. 15439, a messenger of Nabūgu (lines 8 and 16: Na-bu-gu) told the steward and the royal commissioner of the Eanna temple that they should lead several farmers and archers of the temple whose names are given in the text to Babylon. If these officials did not bring them to Babylon by a specified time, they would bear the punishment of Nabūgu. The document was drafted in Uruk in the fourth regnal year of Cambyses (526 B.C.; the text will be published by N. Czechowicz).

Like his father, Nabūgu had a permanent residence in Babylon. He had temple workmen sent from Uruk at his disposal.

According to Zadok (1975, pp. 245f.), Nabūgu is an Iranian name (\*Nāba-bauga-, "serving his family" or \*Nāba-auga-, "the strength of the family."

207. Napatanu (Na-pa-a-nu. BM 54205. see IBKU, pp. 108f.), a judge mentioned together with two other judges, one of whom bore the Iranian name Pattināšu (q.v.), and the commander of the garrison Baga'mīri (q.v.. b). The document, a lease of a house which had been a royal gift to an *ustarbaru* official, was drafted before the judges and the commander of the garrison, probably in Babylon in the second half of Darius I's



reign. Zadok proposes deriving this name from *\*napāt-*, "grandson" or from *\*nafta-*, "the wet" (Zadok 1976c, p. 69). Cf. below s.v. Tiridāta a.

208. Napiani. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 171 (*\*nafaina-*, "siopenhaft, familiensinnig"); see also Zadok 1979a, p. 298.

a) Na-pi-a-ni-i (BE 9, 28:14); Na-pe-en-na-a (ibid. 74:2; cf. ibid., line 10 and 18:11 where the name has been partly preserved), son of Atrumanu'. They both belonged to the group of the Areian soldiers settled in Šalammu, near Nippur. In 425 B.C. the Murašû firm paid these Areians rent on their lands (BE 9, 74). He also witnessed documents regarding payments of rent and royal taxes (BE 9, 18, and 28a).

b) Na-pe-nu (VAS 6, 194:15). The place at which the tablet was drafted and the date are not preserved. As seen from the fragmentary text, Napenu was issued ten minas of silver, perhaps to buy flour for a group of soldiers.

c) Na-pe-en (PBS 2/1, 122:8), whose son Zabīni (a Semitic name) held a bow fief in the Areian *ḫaṛu* in the Nippur region in 418 B.C.

209. Nariāspi (Na-ar-ia-as-pi/pu, EEMA 107:9, 13, 16), Na-ar-as-pi (ibid., line 15), son of Kartam (q.v.). To judge from this damaged text from the second half of the fifth century B.C., a member of the Murašû house appealed to a certain Enlil-šum-iddin, son of Aplā, in the presence of several citizens (LÚ *mār-banê*) of Nippur: "Release the property of Nariāspu, son of Kartam, which you keep in Nippur." The date broken. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 174 (*\*naryāspa-*, "der mit männlichen [mannhaften] Rossen").

210. Neba'mardu' (Ne-ba-a'-mar-du-u', PBS 2/1, 20:3, 5), an Achaemenid prince who owned an estate in Abastānu, near Nippur. In 423 B.C., his land was rented to the Murašû house for three years at an annual rent of five *kur* (900 liters) of barley, paid through Neba'mardu's bailiff. On the etymology see Zadok 1975, p. 246 (*\*Naiba-vr̥da-*, "of beautiful growth").

211. Nināku. The etymology of this Iranian name has not yet been explained (Eilers 1940, p. 202, n. 4; Hinz in ASN, p. 176). According to

V. Livshits, it renders Old Iranian \*Ni-nāka-, "(he who is) beating/striking" (from *nam-/nā-*).

a) Ni-na-ak-ku Ma-da-a-a (VAS 4, 160:3), a "Mede" whose slave woman Etirtu was used as security for a loan in Borsippa in 499 B.C. But she ran away in the night from the creditor's house.

b) Ni-na-ak-ku (PBS 2/1, 30:23, U.E.); Ni-in-na-ka-a' (EEMA 7:9); [Ni]-na-ak-ka (ibid. 12:Lo.E.); Ni-na-a-ku (BE 9, 45: 30 = TMH 2/3, 143:30); Ni-na-ak-ka-a' (BE 9, 50:13), an agent (BE 9, 45, [50]) or LU *ustarbari* official of the prince Zataṃē (q.v.). Ni-nāku witnessed documents regarding rent paid for land and a canal in 431–418 B.C.

212. Niriabignu (Ni-ri-a-bi-ig-nu LU *e-la-mu-ú*, Camb. 384:17), an "Elamite," in whose presence a document was drafted in Ḫumadēšu in 523 B.C., according to which the Iranians Razamarma' and Aspumetana' (q.vv.; see s.v. Artarušu for details) received half the purchase price of two slave women sold by them to a Babylonian. Three Babylonians are also listed as witnesses in the same text. Referring to the Elamite Niriabignu, Zadok writes that "the Babylonians were not the only foreigners in Ḫumadēšu," located in Persia (1976d, p. 74). But, strictly speaking, the region of Ḫumadēšu was a part of the original land of the Elamites.

On the name see Eilers 1940, p. 202, n. 6; Hinz in ASN, p. 173 ("Heldengabe"?). The same name is also attested in Elamite texts from Persepolis in the form of Na-ri-ya-pi-ik-na (Haddock in PF, p. 737). Thus, this Elamite bore an Iranian name.

213. Numagazu (Nu-ma-ga-zu, VAS 3, 159:3), the superintendent (LU *rab bīti*) of a certain Šatabaksu (q.v.). He collected 17 *kur* (3,060 liters) of barley, 3 *kur* 2 *pān* (648 liters) of spelt, and 2 *pān* 2 *sūt* (84 liters) of cress plant as toll dues (*miksu*) for the passage of ships through a canal. The real recipient of the dues was the royal house (line 11: *bīti šarri*). The document was drafted in 487 B.C. in Damar (the location is unknown). According to Zadok (1977, p. 95), Numagazu appears to be an Iranian name. V. Livshits suggests interpreting this name as \*Nava-gaza-. "a new-received (gift)," a good name for a second or any successive boy born in the family; for \**gaz(a)-* cf. Sogdian *pčγz-*.

214. Numaina' (Nu-ma-i-na-a', EEMA 44:3), whose son Zabīn (a Semitic name) held a bow fief near Nippur. The document was drafted in 425 B.C. On the name see Zadok 1976c, p. 69 (\*Navaina-).
215. Numingu (Nu-mi-in-gu. EKBK 31:13), son of Abigni (q.v.), a witness to a promissory note drafted in Managu in 425 B.C. (or 365 B.C., if the document is not from the reign of Artaxerxes I). This name is probably Iranian (Zadok 1977, p. 107 with n. 190, with a reference to Oppert and Ménant, p. 284, where it is compared with Persian *numing* "coral").
216. Padakka (Pa-da-ak-ka LU<sup>1</sup> pa-<ar>-sa-a-a, Dar. 397:7), a "Persian." The document was drafted in Bīrtu-ša-Kinā (probably near Sippar; Zadok 1985, p. 77) in 508 B.C. where he owned a manor. The text mentions his bailiff, a Babylonian. On the name see Grantovskij, p. 175, n. 28; cf. Zadok 1977, p. 108 (\*Pādaka-).
217. Pagakanna (Pa-ga-ka-an-na, Stolper 1989, p. 284:2), whose son Hūta[...] is referred to as governor of Babylon and Across-the-River in a document drafted in Babylon in 486 B.C. Cf. Stolper 1989, p. 287: "Emendation to *Ba(!)-ga-* ... is unwarranted.... Nevertheless, if the name is Iranian, I see no alternative to analyzing it as \**baga-* \*hypocoristic -*ka* \*patronymic -*āna*. Cf. \**Baga-ka-* in Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persēpolitana*, p. 136 8.199."
218. Pamē (Pa-me-e, EEMA 7:6, Lo.E.), who in 425 B.C. was paid a ram, one mina of silver, a vat of beer, and four *sūt* (24 liters) of flour by the Murašū house as rent for his field. On the name see Zadok 1976c, p. 69 (\*Paviya-).
219. Pamū (Pa-mu-ú, VAS 6, 187:18), whose son Urdia (q.v.) witnessed a promissory note in the 30th year of Artaxerxes (435 or 375 B.C.). The name of the place at which the tablet was drafted is not preserved. On the name see Zadok 1976c, p. 69.
220. Pāpaku (Pa-pa-ku, BE 8, 11:2, 6), whose son Bagajāzu owned an

estate near Nippur in 437 B.C. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 179 (\*Pāpaka-). The same name is also attested in Elamite texts from Persepolis in the forms of Ba-ba-qa, Ba-ba-ak-qa, etc. (ibid.).

221. Paragušu, son of Ṭab-šalammu. Zadok reads this name as Barragušu deriving it from \*Bara-gau-/\*gau-bara-, "cattle raiser" (Zadok 1981/1982, p. 137). However, the text to which Zadok refers (CBS 5240) has since been published by Stolper (EEMA 35:10), and the name is spelled Pa-ra-gu-šú. V. Livshits interprets this name as \**Fragauša-* (cf. Manichaean-Parthian *frgwš-*), "put aside."

222. Parnaka (\*Farnaka-). The name is frequently attested in Elamite texts from Persepolis in the forms of Par-na-ak-ka, Par-na-ik-ka (Hallock in PF, p. 741; Mayrhofer in OnP 8.1282; Hinz in ASN, pp. 94f.). Cf. Pharnakēs, Pharnaces in classical sources.

a) Par-nak (YOS 7, 128:20), mentioned with Gubāru, the governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River, in a document drafted in 528 B.C. in Uruk. They ordered the punishment of a temple slave who had eaten a sheep belonging to the Eanna temple. In the sixth regnal year of Cyrus, 533 B.C., one Nabû-nāšîr declared at the session of the popular assembly of Uruk that he had brought a written message of Parnaka ("this is not a message of the king, but a message of Par-nak-ki," Erm. 15539, unpublished, line 21) about an investigation regarding some gold that had probably been stolen from the Eanna temple. It seems that the same person is referred to in AnOr 8, 67:6, in the phrase *ši-pir-tum šá par-na-ak-ka*, "a written message of Parnaka" (the masculine determinative is omitted before the name; cf. AnOr 8, 45:13, where a certain Balāṭu is mentioned without the determinative, although in lines 1 and 9 of the same text it is written before his name). San Nicolò translates the above-mentioned phrase as "Botschaft der Majestät." supposing that it renders the Old Persian *xvarnaka*, "majesty" (San Nicolò 1949, p. 326). This interpretation has also been accepted by von Soden (AHw, p. 834). But the Old Persian form for "majesty" would be \**farnah-*, which is regularly rendered in Babylonian texts as *-parna*. Thus, in AnOr 8, 67, we apparently have the same proper name Parnak.

According to this tablet, in 528 B.C., the second regnal year of Cambyses, two chief herdsman of the Eanna temple in Uruk were to take 200 lambs and kids, "in respect to which written orders from Parnaka had arrived, and must deliver them for the royal table in the palace which is in the city of Amanu. If ... the 200 (head) of livestock are not brought and are not delivered to the palace which is in the city of Amanu, then they will suffer the punishment of the king." Apparently, the livestock was brought to Amanu when Cambyses stayed there with his companions. A number of analogous documents survive regarding the obligations of the Eanna temple to deliver sheep, beer, dates, wood, etc., to Amanu, which was not far from Uruk (cf. s.v. Gubāru *b*).

Finally, it seems to me that this is the Parnaka frequently referred to in Elamite texts from Persepolis as the chief of the royal household, who held office under Darius I until 486 B.C. (Dandamayev 1972, pp. 17-20; cf. Zadok 1977, p. 92; Hinz in ASN, pp. 94f.).

b) Pa-ra-na-ka(?) (Stigers, p 46, no. 41:6), the bailiff (LÚ *rab būi*) of a person whose name was read as Na'-ma-ri-ja by the editor (*ibid.*, p. 20, among geographical names) but, to judge from the copy, should be read Ma-na-a'-ma-ri-ja. A certain Bēl-iqšur sold a donkey to Nidintu-Bēl for one mina of silver. Later Parnaka drove it away and after some time returned it to Nidintu-Bēl. The real situation is obscure to me. The text was drafted in Sippar in 510 B.C.

c) Par-nak-ku (VAS 5, 101:5), father of a woman named Gambiia (q.v.), who owned some land in or near Babylon in 494 B.C.

d) Pa-ar-na-ak LÚ *pa-ar-sa-a-a* (PBS 2/1, 5:2), a "Persian" whose sons Uḫējāgam and Tīriaiamuš (q.vv.) in 423 B.C. were in Babylon where the former received a rent payment witnessed by the latter.

e) Pa-ar-nak-ku (EEMA 32:rev. 5), father of a witness whose name is destroyed. The date of the document is not preserved.

223. Parnauḫti' (Par-na-uḫ-ti-i', BE 9, 11:3, 7, 19), a slave of Bagajāzu (q.v. *b*), son of Pāpaku (q.v.), who owned land near Nippur. In 437 B.C. Parnauḫti' was authorized by his master to receive rent due on his field. According to Zadok, this name may render \*Farna-uxti-, "Farnah's obligation" (Zadok 1981/1982, p. 137 and n. 45).

224. Parnuma' ([P]a-ar-nu-ma-a', Kelsey Museum 8133:17, unpublished), son of Arturū[...], a witness at a lease of cattle.

225. Parnuš (Pa-ar-nu-uš, PBS 2/1, 70:6, 11, L.E.; Pa-ar-mu-uš LÚ *us-tar-ba-ri*, ibid., line 4; Par-ri-nu-uš, BE 10, 103:4, 5, L.E.; Par-ri-nu-ú, PBS 2/1 98: 3, 10, U.E.; Par-ri-ni-iš LÚ *us-tar-ba-[ri]*, PBS 2/1, 102:3, 11), son of Šibbū (q.v., a). They both were *ustarbaru* officials. In 421 B.C. in Nippur, the Murašû firm paid Parnuš twelve shekels of silver through his bailiff Barikia as rent on his land (PBS 2/1, 70). In 420 B.C. he received thirty *kur* (5,400 liters) of barley from them through his slave Bēl-ibni (PBS 2/1, 98). In the same year they paid him 5 *sūt* (30 liters) of flour, 3 *sūt* (18 liters) of beer, and 12 shekels of silver through Barikia (PBS 2/1, 102). Next year they again paid him 12 shekels of silver through Barikia on the same land (BE 10, 103; it is sealed with an "iron seal-ring" of Parnuš). This name is also attested in Elamite texts from Persepolis in the forms of Bar-nu-iš, Pir-nu-iš, etc. For references and literature see Hinz in ASN, p. 180 (from \**parnu-*, "old").

226. Parrina'niš (Par-ri-na-a'-ni-iš, BE 10, 76:4, 9, 11, [R]), a slave of Karguš (q.v.), who was a "foreman of the lance bearers" in 421 B.C. in Nippur. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 100; Zadok 1976c, p. 69 (Farnaini-).

227. Parrinazāta (Par-ri-na-za-a-ta/tú, BE 10, 92:14, Lo.E.), a judge in the Ḫarri-Piqudu canal district near Nippur in 420 B.C. On the etymology see Hilprecht in BE 10, p. 60; Zadok 1977, p. 101 (\**Farna-zāta-*).

228. Parrisakka' (Par-ri-sa-ak-a', TMH 2/3, 186:14; Par-ri-sak-ka-a', ibid., L.E.), overseer of the *šušānu*-workmen. He witnessed a document in 419 B.C. regarding a rent payment on bow fiefs near Nippur belonging to the Arian soldiers. On the etymology see Eilers 1940, p. 221; Hinz in ASN, p. 180; Zadok 1977, p. 106 (\**pari-saka-*).

229. Parsarutu (Pa-<ar>-sa-ru-tú, EEMA 19:5), owner of a field near Nippur that was given to the Murašû house as a lease or as security and

rented to by them to another man. On the etymology see Zadok 1975, p. 246 (*\*Frasrūta-*, "proclutus, famous").

230. Partammu (Par-ta-am-mu LU *par-sa-a-a*, Dar. 379:3; Pa-ar-ta-am-mu LU *Par-sa-a-a*, ibid. 410:2), a "Persian." Dar. 379 records the division of property among the sons of Itū-Marduk-balāṣu, the chief of the Egibi business house, in Babylon in 508 B.C. and mentions a "big house" of the Egibi next to a house sold by a certain Zummâ to Partammu. This house of the "Persian Partammu" is also mentioned in Dar. 410 drafted in Babylon the next year. The name is already found in a Neo-Assyrian promissory note from 683 B.C. in the form of Par-ta-ma (ADD 122:3). This Partāma took a considerable quantity of wine for which he was to pay in Nineveh at a specified time. Th. Kwasman reads this name as Ut-ta-a-ma (NALK, p. 200, no. 164b; among other readings, the first sign can be read as *par* and *ut*), but as far as I know such a name is not attested in other Mesopotamian texts. Cf. also Pir-ra-tam-ma in Elamite texts from Persepolis (Hallock in PF, p. 745). See Eilers 1955, pp. 229f.; Hinz in ASN, p. 98; Zadok 1977, p. 107 (*\*Fratama-*, "primus"). Cf. ibid., p. 108 where it is stated that the house of an anonymous Persian was mentioned in 521 B.C., but its owner did not reside in it at the time (VAS 4, 87/86:6).

231. Partasamu (Pa-ar-ta-sa-mu, CLBT, p. 13, no. A.124:1), whose son Arbamiḥri (q.v.) owned a house in Borsippa in 486 B.C. On the name see Zadok 1975, p. 246 (*\*Frata-sava-*).

232. Paruḥātu. On the name see Zadok 1977, pp. 100f. (*\*Paru-hāta-*).

a) Pu-ur-ḥa-at (BE 10, 58:14), son of Dadaparna' (q.v., *b*) and witness to a payment of royal taxes in Nippur in 422 B.C.

b) Par-ru-ḥa-a-tú (BE 10, 114:6,9, Lo.E.), the steward of an *ustarbaru* official named Iprāduparna' (q.v.) in Nippur in 418 B.C.

c) Pu-ur-ḥa-a-tú (PBS 2/1, 158:24); Pu-ru-ḥa-a-tú (ibid., Lo.E.), the steward of Baga'dātu (q.v., *f*) and a witness to a contract, by which the Murašû house rented some land and a royal canal during the reign of Darius II (the year is broken off).

It is possible that all three bearers of this name were identical. Cf. Eilers in IBKU, p. 15, n. 6.

233. Parurē (Pa-ru-re-e, BE 9, 76:12), whose son Bagazuštu (q.v., *e*) was the "foreman of the Indians" in Nippur in 425 B.C. On the name see Zadok 1975, p. 246 (\**Fravarya*- "who is to be chosen").

234. Patēšu. See Zadok 1977, p. 101 where the name is derived from \*Paθy-aiša- (with a reference to I. Gershevitch).

a) Pa-te-[e-šú] (BE 10, 33:4); Pa-te-e-šú (ibid., 37:3), the foreman of the *ḫatru* of scribe-interpreters in the Nippur region. In 423 B.C. the lands of this *ḫatru* were given to the Murašû house as security for loans of dates. Cf. Stolper in EEMA, p. 94.

b) Pa-te-e-šú (EEMA 109:5), whose son Ispitāmu (q.v., *b*) is mentioned in a document drafted in Nippur in 424 B.C.

235. Patiridāta (Pat-i-ri-da-a-ta, ROMCT 2, 35:2,5,8), a slave. According to this contract from Huṣ-Šagībi (possibly near Nippur) dated in the tenth (?) regnal year of Artaxerxes (445 B.C., if Artaxerxes I is meant), two Babylonians sold him and two of his sons, Kidinnu-Bēl (a Babylonian name) and Sananiaqu. Patiridātu (or at least its component -*dāta*) is apparently an Iranian name.

236. Patištana' (Pa-ti-iš-ta-na-a', BE 9, 74:6,12), son of Darmakka', holder of a bow fief from the *ḫatru* of the Areian soldiers in Šalammu, near Nippur. In 425 B.C. the land of this *ḫatru* was rented out to the Murašû house. On the name see Eilers in IBKU, p. 15, n. 1; Hinz in ASN, p. 189 (\**Patištāna*-). Cf. also Bat-ti-iš-da-na in Elamite texts from Persepolis (Hallock in PF, p. 676).

237. Patīza' (fPa-ti-za-a'. Camb. 384:7), a slave woman sold in 525 B.C. in Humadēšu. On the name see Gershevitch *apud* Zadok 1976d, p. 77 (\**Pati-izā*- "the desirous").

238. Patnāšu (Pa-at-na-a-šú, CT 4, 34d. Bu. 88-5-12. 593:3), whose son Pi-su-sa-as-ba/ma-ka-a-ša (an Egyptian name) granted a loan of one



*kur* (180 liters) of dates. The document was drafted in Babylon in 476 B.C. According to Eilers (IBKU, p. 114), this name is the same as *Patināšu* (below); cf. also *Patnēsu*. See Zadok 1977, pp. 98f.

239. *Patnēsu* (Pa-at-ni-e-su? TCL 13. 186-17), son of Iddin-Nabû, a witness in a promissory note drafted in 413 B.C. in Babylon. Cf. Eilers in IBKU, p. 114, n. 2. According to Zadok, this name "may begin with Iran. *pati-* (Zadok 1977, p. 99).

240. *Pattazu* (Pa-at-ta-zu, BE 8, 112:3,7), whose son Nergal-iddin rented out a house in Babylon for an annual payment of thirty six shekels of silver in 506 B.C. The son had a Babylonian name, but his own name seems to be Iranian (Zadok 1977, p. 94).

241. *Pattemidu* (Pa-at-te(?)-mi-du LU *Ma-da-a-a*, PTT 85: rev: 1), a "Mede," son of a shepherd. This Babylonian document, found among the Persepolis Treasury tablets and dated in the twentieth regnal year of Darius I (501 B.C.), mentions "the tax (*man-da-at-tum*) of the Mede *Pattemidu*, son of the shepherd," who paid eight minas of silver. Cameron suggested that this document was drafted not in Persepolis itself but most likely in some Mesopotamian city or in Media and then was brought to Persia (PTT, p. 202; but cf. Stolper 1984, p. 304). The etymology of the name is not yet explained.

242. *Patināšu* (Pa-at-ti-na-a-šú, BM 54205:14, see IBKU, pl. III; Pa-at-ta-na-šu, *ibid.*, L.E.). The document records a lease of a plot of land that was a royal gift to an *ustarbaru* official and was drafted before this *Patināšu* and some other officials. It comes from Babylon and belongs to the Achaemenid period, probably to the reign of Darius I. *Patināšu* bore the title *dajjānu hurā[ši]*, "golden judge," a very unusual title. The document is also sealed with his seal. On the name see Eilers in IBKU, p. 114; Hinz in ASN, p. 188 (\**Patināša-* with previous literature). Cf. also above *Patnāšu* and *Bat-ti-na-šá*, *Bat-ti-na-iš-šá* in Elamite texts from Persepolis (Hallock in PF, p. 676).

243. *Paṭiduru'* (Pa-ti-du-ru-u'-ú, BE 9, 28a:5), whose son *Ispatara'*

(q.v., c) owned a field near Nippur in 434 B.C. The etymology of Paḫduru' is unknown, but his son had an Iranian name.

244. Piridātu (Pi?-ri-da-a-ta, VAT 15609; Eilers in IBKU, p. 15, n. 6), mentioned in an unpublished text drafted in Babylon in 426 B.C. He bore the title LU *pa-ra-as-ta-mu* from \**frastavan*- "foreman" (ibid.; Zadok 1977, p. 98; this name renders \**Fradāia*-). The same Iranian title *parastamu* occurs in a few unpublished Late Babylonian texts.

245. Piriia[...] (Pi?-ri-ia [...], Kelsey Museum 8133:20, unpublished), whose son Batraparsa' (q.v.) witnessed a lease of cattle. Cf. Pir-ri-ya-na in Elamite texts from Persepolis (OnP 8. 1339, with previous literature).

246. Pirmizdi (Pi-ir-mi-iz-di, Dar. 301:17), whose son Bagapāta (q.v., c) witnessed a marriage contract in Babylon in 511 B.C. Zadok reads this name as Pi-sa-mi-is-ki, an Egyptian name (Zadok 1977, p. 94). This emendation, however, seems to be unwarranted, since we can hardly assume that at such an early period as the reign of Darius I an Egyptian would give his son the Iranian name Bagapāta. Pirmizdi is probably an Iranian name. Cf. Pir-mi-iz-za in an Elamite text from Persepolis (Hallock in PF, p. 744; Mayrhofer in OnP 8.1319).

247. Piššiia (Pi-iš-ši-ia, Dar. 534:7; 542:7), the bailiff (LU *rab bīti*) of Baga'saru (q.v., a), the royal treasurer in Babylon in 518-500 B.C. Zadok assumes that this is an Iranian name (\*Pišiya-) and refers to Pi-ši-ya in Elamite texts from Persepolis (Zadok 1977, p. 93; cf. OnP 8.1358).

248. Pitriia (Pit-ri-ia, EEMA 19:6), the owner of a field near Nippur which in 427 B.C. was leased or mortgaged to the Murašû house. On the etymology see Zadok 1977, p. 110 (\**Piθriya*- with previous literature).

249. PRŠNDT (CIS 2/1, 100), son of 'RTDT. The name occurs in an Aramaic cylinder-seal from Mesopotamia which probably should be

dated in the Late Achaemenid period (Zadok 1977, p. 100; on the etymology see *ibid.*, n. 91: \**Pṛšanta-dāta*—“born to a multicolored person,” with previous literature).

Purḫat. See Paruḫāru.

250. Puruša<sup>t</sup>u (fPu-ru-šá-a-tú, PBS 2/1, 75:3; 119:12; Pu-ru-uš-sá-a-tú, BE 10, 97:14, Lo.E.; PBS 2/1, 50:6; Pu-ur-šá-a-tú, PBS 2/1, 38:Lo.E.; TMH 2/3, 185:2,12,14; Pur-ru-uš-iš, PBS 2/1, 146:27; Pur-ru-uš-ti-iš, BE 10, 131:27; PBS 2/1, 147:27; Pu-ru-u'-šá-ti-iš, PBS 2/1, 60:2,8), the Persian queen Parysatis, wife of Darius II, mentioned in documents from Nippur drafted in 421–413 B.C. (cf. Hüsing, p. 18; Meissner, col. 385; Stolper in EEMA, pp. 63f.).

According to PBS 2/1, 75, in 421 B.C. the Murašû house paid Parysatis through her bailiff (*paqdu*) Ea-bullissu, 72 *kur* (12,960 liters) of dates as two years' rent for her land, in addition to a rental payment for a field belonging to Madumîtu (q.v.), probably a lady in Parysatis' court. According to Stolper, the orchards of Madumîtu were part of Parysatis' estate (EEMA, p. 64). In 420 B.C. in Nippur, the Murašû house paid 317 *kur* 2 *pān* 3 *sūt* (57,150 liters) of barley and 5 *kur* 2 *pān* 3 *sūt* (990 liters) of wheat as rent for “a part of Parysatis' land and on a bow fief of Ea-bullissu, the bailiff of Parysatis” (TMH 2/3, 185). The payment was made through a slave of Ea-bullissu and one other person. The receipt itself was drafted before Ištabuzana' (q.v.), a judge of the Sîn canal district, and Nabû-mît-uballit, son of Mukîn-apli, “the judge of Parysatis' house” (line 14 and U.E.: LÚ DI.KUD šá É fPu-ur-šá-a-tú; the document is sealed with his seal. Cf. also BE 10, 97:14, Lo.E. which records a payment of royal taxes incumbent on the fiefs of the “Cimmerians”; the receipt was drafted before the same “judge of Parysatis' house” and sealed with his “gold seal-ring”). In 421 B.C. the Murašûs paid 60 *kur* (10,800 liters) of barley as rent for part of Parysatis' land (PBS 2/1, 50). According to PBS 2/1, 60, they paid 15 *kur* (2,700 liters) of barley as part of the rent due on the fields of Bēl-bullissu and his brothers, “the slaves of Parysatis.” Bēl-bullissu himself and the bailiff of Parysatis stood as guarantors that there would be no court decision and legal process regarding these fields. The name of the

bailiff is not indicated in the text, but apparently the above-mentioned Ea-bullissu is meant here (cf. Cardascia, p. 96). The document was drafted in 421 B.C.

Two slaves and an *ustabaru* official of Parysatis acted as witnesses in documents regarding rental payments for land and the lease of sheep and goats belonging to the Persian prince Aršāma (BE 10, 137:27; PBS 2/1, 38:Lo.E.; 119:11-12; 146:27-28; 147:27; cf. also BE 10, 130:27; PBS 2/1, 145:28).

As seen from the above-mentioned texts, Parysatis had vast land holdings in the Nippur region and through her bailiff rented them out to the Murašû firm. She also maintained her own court, administrative, and legal officials.

Xenophon (*Anabasis* 2,4,27) tells about the "villages of Parysatis" in Babylonia, six days' journey from the city of Opis. He also writes that the Persian general Tissaphernes offered these villages for pillage to the Greek mercenaries who had taken part in the rebellion of Cyrus the Younger, forbidding them only to carry away slaves. According to Xenophon, there was much bread, livestock, and other property in the villages. Apparently, these villages differed from the holdings of Parysatis near Nippur. Xenophon (*Anabasis* 1,4,9) also mentions villages in Syria at the Halys river dedicated to Parysatis "as (her) girdle." These villages probably had to bear the expenses of maintaining the wardrobe of the queen and her court. Cf. also the reference of Ctesias to "the cities of Parysatis" in Babylonia (König 1972, p. 23, no. 58).

On the etymology of the name see Hinz in ASN, p. 182 (*\*parušyāti-*, "mit viel Freude, Glück," with previous literature). The name also occurs in Elamite documents from Persepolis in the forms of Ba-ru-ši-ya-ti-iš, Bar-ru-ši-ya-ti-iš (Hallock in PF, p. 675; Mayrhofer in OnP 8.266).

251. Ragamiēn (Ra-ga-mi-en UET 4, 117:11), the recipient of one shekel of silver in a undated document from Ur. On the name see Zadok 1976c, p. 68 (*\*Ragvaina-*).

252. Rataḥšah (ʿRa!-ta-aḥ-šá-ah, Evetts, Appendix, no. 2:1; the first sign in the copy is *ir*, cf. Tallqvist in NNB, p. 174), the "king's daughter"

(line 2: *mārāt šarri*). The document was drafted in 486 B.C. in Bīt-Šahīran (the location is unknown). Apparently she was an infant daughter of Xerxes since the text also mentions her wet nurse Artim (q.v.). On the etymology see Zadok 1977, p. 110 (\**Rāta-xšaθra*-).

253. Rāzukka' (Ra-za-ka-a'), Pinches 1891/1892, p. 134-4), a slave sold in Humadēšu in 523 B.C. The etymology seems to be clear: \**rāta*- "gift" + suffix *-ka*). Zadok interprets it as "the granted" (1976d, p. 78).

254. Razamarma (Ra-za-am-ār-ma, Camb. 384:2), son of Razamumarga' (q.v.). In 523 B.C. he and the Iranian Aspumetana' sold two Iranian slave women to a Babylonian in the city of Humadēšu. For details see s.v. Artarušu. On the name see Zadok 1976d, p. 78 (\**Razma-arva*- "swift, brave...in battle").

255. Razamumarga' (Ra-za-am-ú-mar-ga-a', Camb. 384:3), whose son Razamarma (q.v.) sold slave women in Humadēšu in 523 B.C. On the name see Zadok 1976d, p. 78 (\**Razma-hu-arga*-, "well worthy in battle").

256. Rhoparas, governor of Babylonia under Artaxerxes II according to Xenophon (*Anabasis* 7,8,25). His name is unknown from other sources and may be a corruption of Gobryas (Stolper 1987, p. 398, n. 42).

257. Ruddātu. See Hinz in ASN, p. 102 (\**raudāta*- from *raod*-, "grow"); cf. also Zadok 1977, p. 105. It seems that one and the same person is referred to in two Murašû documents as Ruddātu and Uraddat. Zadok derives Uraddat from \**Ahura-dāta*-, cf. *Ú-ir-da-ad-da* in Elamite texts from Persepolis (1977, p. 104; Mayrhofer in OnP 8.1760, with previous literature).

a) Ru-ud-da-a-tú (PBS 2/1, 206:12), son of U-[...], a witness in a promissory note from the Murašû archive drafted in 420 B.C.

b) *Ú-ru-ud-da-at* (PBS 2/1, 173:18, L.E.), son of Uḫēbarra' (q.v.), a witness in a contract regarding the sale of doors in Nippur during the reign of Darius II (the year is broken off).

Rušnapātu. See Rušunpātu.

258. Rušundātu. On the name see Hinz in ASN, p. 202; Zadok 1977, p. 110 (\*Rauxšna-dāta-); the same name occurs in Elamite texts in the form of Raš-nu-da-ad-da (Mayrhofer in OnP 8.1421).

a) Ru-šu-un-da-ti (BE 9, 48 = TMH 2/3, 144:3); Ru-šu-un-da-a-tú (ibid., line 10), who owned a field on the banks of Sīn and Šilihtu canals, near Nippur. By 429 B.C. the field had been inherited by Baga'mīri (q.v., *d*), the son of his brother Mitradāta (q.v., *a*).

b) Ru-šu-un-da-a-tu (BE 10, 43:3). He owned some land in Nāqidīni, in the Nippur region. In 423 B.C. this land was rented to the Murašû house and sublet to a third person.

259. Rušunpātu. On the etymology see Eilers 1934a, p. 332; Hinz in ASN, p. 202 (\*Rauxšna-pāta-, "protected by light"); cf. also Zadok 1977, p. 100, n. 96.

a) Ru-šu-un-pa-a-ti (BE 9, 48 = TMH 2/3, 144:7), owner of land near Nippur in 429 B.C. and an interpreter-scribe of the Achaemenid prince Artarēme.

b) Ru-uš-na-pa-a-tú (BE 10, 7 = TMH 2/3, 181:14; PBS 2/1, 29: 19 Lo.E.), whose sons Barikia and Bēl-aḥ-iddin witnessed documents recording the payment of royal taxes and rent in Nippur in 423 B.C. His name is Iranian; nevertheless he probably was a Babylonian or an Aramean.

c) Ru-uš-nu-pa-tum (HSM 8405:18, unpublished), a witness to a promissory note drafted in the seventh regnal year of Artaxerxes (458 B.C., if the first king of this name is meant). He and another witness with a fragmentary Iranian name bore the Iranian title LU *pa-ra-as-ta-mu* (line 19; cf. above s.v. Piridātu).

260. Ruzuštu (Ru-zu-uš-tum, BE 8. 121:2), father of "the Borsippean" (*Bar-sip<sup>k</sup>i-a-a*). He loaned thirty shekels of silver in Borsippa in the first regnal year of Artaxerxes (464 B.C., if Artaxerxes I is meant). Cf. Zadok 1977, p. 99 ("a defective spelling for *Hu-ru-zu-uš-tum* ?").

261. Sakita (Sa-ak-kit-ta LÚ *gi-ma-ra-a-a*, Dar. 458:14-15), a witness to a promissory note drafted in Babylon in 505 B.C. Megibaršu, an immigrant from Asia Minor, loaned fifty shekels of silver to a member of the Egibi business house. Witnesses included immigrants from Asia Minor, a Choresmian (see s.v. Ubaratta *a*) who lived in Babylon, and the "Cimmerian" Sakita. Perhaps his name (\**Sakita-*) is connected with the ethnic designation Saka. The suffix *-ita* also occurs in other Old Iranian proper names (Eilers 1940, p. 220). In Elamite versions of the Achaemenid inscriptions, the Old Persian *Saka-* is rendered through Šakka (Šá-ak-qa). This is, however, not only an ethnic designation but also an Iranian proper name (Šá-ak-qa) attested in the Elamite documents of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. discovered in Persepolis (for references see Hallock in PF, p. 753; Gershevitch, p. 229; Mayrhofer in OnP 8.1478). According to Eilers, \**Sakita-* contains the component *sak-*, meaning "to be strong" (Eilers 1940, p. 220).

262. Sijāmu' (Si-ia-a-mu-u', PBS 2/1, 38:Lo.E.), an *ustarbaru* official of the queen Parysatis in Nippur in 423 B.C. On the name see Eilers in IBKU, p. 87 (\**syāva-*).

263. Siṭūnu (Si-ṭu-nu, TMH 2/3, 148:15, U.E.; BE 10, 117:R; 129:16; Si-ṭu-ú-nu, *ibid.*, 117:3,4,8,11), an Achaemenid prince who owned a manor near Nippur in 417-416 B.C. A Babylonian who was "the bailiff of the estate of Siṭūnu" (TMH 2/3, 148; line 15: LÚ *paq-du šá É* ...; cf. *ibid.*, U.E. which contains an impression of his seal) is referred to in a rental contract. According to BE 10, 117, the Murašû house paid 1 mina 20 shekels of silver, a vat of beer, a ram, and 1 *pān* 4 *sūt* (48 liters) of flour as two years' rent for fields in the Nippur region belonging to the prince Siṭūnu. The payment was made through Arad-Gula, a slave of Siṭūnu. The document was drafted in Nippur in 417 B.C. According to Zadok, in 418-417 B.C. this prince held 1/6 "of a manor which had evidently belonged to Parysatis in 423/2. He perhaps received it as an appanage" (1977, p. 110). On the etymology see *ibid.*, p. 109 (\**Stūna-*, "pillar").

264. Surummu (Su-ru-um-mu, TMH 2/3, 142:5), whose son Zamaspa' (q.v., Ī) held a bow fief near Nippur in 464 B.C. On the etymology see Zadok 1975, p. 246 (\**Srauma-*, with a reference to Avestan *sraoman-*, "hearing, hearing ability").

265. Surundu (Su-ru-un-du, Evetts, Appendix 2:3), an agent of Artim (q.v.), who was the wet nurse of the Persian princess Rataḥšaḥ (q.v.). The document was drafted in 486 B.C. in Bīt-Šaḥirān. On the etymology see Zadok 1976c, p. 69 (\**Sravanta-* "the hearing, obedient").

266. Suta' (Su-ta-a', CT 49, 107:rev. 10). According to this document of the Hellenistic period, he received a sum of money. Zadok thinks that the name renders the Old Iranian \**sūta-* "the fore-runner of the New Persian *sūd*" (1979a, p. 299).

267. Šaddajanu (in Bīt Šad-da-a-a-nu, TCL 13, 183:7). Zadok translates this as "the estate...of \*Š(y)ā-taina-" (Zadok 1979a, p. 299). The document is dated in 521 B.C. and, according to Zadok, is an attestation "of an Iranian's estate near Uruk in the early Achaemenian period."

268. Šammû (Ša-am-mu-ú, OECT 10, 192:14), son of Baga-ḥaja (q.v.), a witness in a document recording the royal taxes paid in dates for an orchard. It seems that the payment was issued through Baga-ḥaja, Šammû's father, in Ḥursagkalammu (Kiš) in the fourth regnal year of Artaxerxes I. Cf. below the name Šummu borne by a Median official in the early Achaemenid period. It is possible that Šammû was a nickname, cf. AiWb, cols., 1705, *šam-* "to devour," "to swallow."

269. Šašeinnu (Šá-še-in-nu, GCCI II, 360:32), who was issued some wool. The document comes from the Eanna archive in Uruk and its date is unknown, since the name of the ruling king is not indicated in the text. Zadok thinks that Šašeinnu might render \*Čašaina-? (1977, p. 107).

270. Šata'ani' (Šá-ta-a'-a-ni-i', PBS 2/1, 116:7), holder of a bow fief in 419 B.C. He was one of the Areian soldiers settled in the Nippur region. On the name see Zadok 1977, p. 117 (\**Šyātaini-*).



271. Šatabaksu (Ša-ta-ba/ma-ak?-su, VAS 3, 159:3, collated; see Zadok 1977, p. 95), owner of a manor, according to this document drafted in Damar in 487 B.C. (cf. s.v. Numagazu). Zadok (ibid. p. 95 with n. 39) thinks that the first element might be \*š(y)āta-, "happiness."

272. Šatabari (Šá-ta-ba-ri, Ungnad 1960, p. 79, Amherst 258:3,10,21), a subordinate (*ardu*) of Uštānu, the governor of Babylonia. Šatabari accompanied Uštānu during his visit to Borsippa and was issued two rams and 2 minas 2 1/2 shekels of silver as travel expenses. Four shekels of silver were also given to "the people of Šatabari's house." The document comes from Borsippa and belongs to the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. On the etymology see Benveniste 1966, p. 120; Zadok 1977, p. 96 (\*Šyāti-, "holder of happiness").

273. Šatabarzana. On the etymology see Benveniste 1966, p. 120; Hinz in ASN, p. 231; Zadok 1977, p. 98 (\*Šyāti-brzana-); cf. Satibaranēs in Greek sources, Sethar-bozenai in Ezra (5:6, etc.), ŠTBRZN in Aramaic papyri from Elephantine (AP, 5:16, etc.).

a) Ša-ta-bar-za-nu (Jakob-Rost and Freydank, p. 17, no. 7:rev. 4), whose slave Arma'beri was one of the witnesses regarding rent for some land in a document drafted in 451 B.C. in the locality of Ribû and found in Babylon. The editors of the text (ibid., p. 18) think that Šatabarzanu might be identical with Satibaranēs, courtier of Artaxerxes I (König 1972, p. 23, no. 57). A Persian is depicted on the seal impression on the tablet.

b) Šá-ta-bar-za-na (BE 9, 83:19, L.E.; PBS 2/1, 130:18); Šá-ta-ba-ar-za-nu (ibid., 84:15), son of Bēl-ēpuš, a witness in documents regarding payment of royal taxes for bow fiefs in the Nippur region in 425-418 B.C.

c) Šá-[ta]-ba-ar-za-na-a' (EEMA 13:25), a witness in a document from 427 B.C. regarding rent for a field near Nippur. His patronymic is not preserved. He may be identical with the preceding person.

274. Šatah̄ma'. On the name see Hinz in ASN, p. 230 (\*Šyātaḥ̄ma-, "glücklich-tapfer").

a) Šá-ta-aḥ̄-ma-a' (PBS 2/1, 113:1,7,14). According to a document

drafted in 419 B.C. in Šušan ("Susa," i.e., the capital of Elam or perhaps a town near Nippur, cf. below, p. 153) a certain Bēl-aḥḫiāni, a slave of Šataḥma', sold his own slave. As witnesses are listed two more slaves of Šataḥma' who bore Babylonian names.

b) Šá-ta-aḥ-me (PBS 2/1, 100:13). A subordinate of his is listed in a fragmentary document from the Murašû archive drafted in 420 B.C.

275. Šatarita (Šá-ta-r[i]?-ta, GCCI II, 321:13). According to a document from the Eanna temple archive in Uruk, he was issued a few shekels of silver. The date of the text is unknown since the name of the ruling king is not indicated in it. Zadok thinks that the first component of the name may be \*š(y)āta-, "happiness" (Zadok 1977, p. 107).

276. Šātenna' (Šá-a-te-en-na-a', EEMA 62:3), to whom the Murašû house loaned 48 *kūr* 2 *pān* (8,712 liters) of barley in Nippur in 437 B.C. The document seems to be an abstract promissory note, with the barley being rent for a field leased to him by the Murašû firm. Šātenna' is an Iranian name, but his father and brother had the Babylonian names Nabû-bullissu and Mušēzib. See Hinz in ASN, p. 230 (\*šyātaina-, "froh, glücklich"). Cf. also Šá-ut-te-nu-iš (\*šyātaina-) which occurs as a geographical name in an Elamite text from Persepolis (ibid.; Zadok 1977, p. 105).

277. Šebarzanu (Še-bar?-za-nu, UET 4, 66:3), a royal official (LÚ *rēš šarri*) whose slave borrowed money for sixteen days free of interest. The document was drafted in Ur in 365 B.C. On the name see Zadok 1977, p. 106 with note 188: \*šyā-brzāna-?, possibly "an -āna- patronymic of \*šyā-brza-, "glad and high."

278. Šeta' (Še-ta-a', CT 55, 93:1), son of Birakka' (q.v.). He loaned without interest five shekels of silver to a Babylonian. Dēmiši (q.v.), another person with an Iranian name, was a witness. The tablet, discovered in Sippar, was drafted in Borsippa at the end of the sixth century B.C. (the date is broken off). Zadok proposes that Šeta' renders \*Čaita-, "a retrenched name meaning 'sense, mind, intellect, view'" (1983a, p. 319).

279. Šezata' (Še-za-ta-a', PBS 2/1, 192:6; Še-za-a-tú, *ibid.*, 77:U.E.), whose son Bēl-ibni was one of the an Areian soldiers who held a bow fief near Nippur in 422–421 B.C. and rented it to the Murašû firm. On the name see Zadok 1975, p. 246 (\*Šyā-zāta-, "frohgeboren").

280. Šibbu. On a possible etymology see Ehlers in IEKU, p. 67.

a) Ši-ib-bu-ú (PBS 2/1, 43:3, 4, 5), a "royal *ustarbaru* official." In Nippur in 422 B.C. the Murašû firm gave him thirty shekels of silver as rent for a field, paying through his bailiff and one of his slaves.

b) Ši-ib-bu-u' (PBS 2/1, 98:3), an *ustarbaru* official whose son Parnuš (q.v.) owned an estate near Nippur in 420 B.C.

281. Šitrenna' (Ši-it-re-en-na-a', EEMA 62:rev. 3), whose son Zabīn is listed in a promissory note drafted in Nippur in 437 B.C. His son's name is Semitic. On Šitrenna' see Zadok 1975, p. 246 (\*Čiθraina-). The same author (1977, p. 103) also refers to a Ši-ti-ir-ka-a-nu, apparently a slave bought for copper, mentioned in a Neo-Assyrian text (ADD 255:4; cf. NALK, pp. 207f., no. 171, where the name is read [S]itir-kānu).

282. Šummu (Šu-um-mu LÚ *Ma-da-a-a*, Michigan Collection 89:53), a "Mede" issued one shekel of silver according to a document recording the expenditures of the Eanna temple in Uruk, mainly various sums of money paid to workmen at a royal manor in Amanu, near Nippur. The date of the text is not preserved, but references to Gubāru (q.v.), apparently the well-known governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River, date it to the reign of Cyrus or Cambyses (cf. Stolper 1989, p. 302, n. 63). Another "Mede" (line 41: LÚ *Ma-da-a-a*), whose name is not preserved, bore the title *bēl tēmi*, "chancellor" and issued an order on behalf of Gubāru that some sheep belonging to the Eanna temple should be delivered for royal provisions (*ibid.*). Zadok thinks that Šummu is a Semitic name (1977, p. 112), but it seems unlikely that a Mede would have a Semitic name in the early Achaemenid period.

Zadok (*ibid.*) also notes that the palm grove of the above-mentioned royal manor was managed by a Choresmian (cf. s.v. Ukiriya).

283. Tāta. On the name see Grantovskij, p. 217; Hinz in ASN, p. 235 (\*Tāta-, "father").

a) Ta-a-ta LU DĪKUD (PBS 2/1, 65:20, R); Ta-ta-a' (ibid., 64:10; TMH 2/3, 187:12), a "judge" of the Sīn canal district who acted as a judge or witness in three documents drafted in Nippur in 421–419 B.C.: a slave sale contract, a promissory note, and a rent receipt. His father had the Semitic name Zabdiya (PBS 2/1, 64).

b) Ta-ta-a' (BE 10, 86:13, Lo.E.), whose son Tīridāta (q.v., e) was the foreman of the Achaemenid soldiers in the Nippur region in 420 B.C.

284. Tatakka' (Ta-tak-ka-a', VAS 20, 49:rev. 9), one of two "Cimmerians (i.e., Saka) who are in charge of ships" (*Gi-mi-ir-ra-a' šá muḫ-ḫi sa-pi-in-na-a-ta*; lines 10–11) mentioned in a text drafted in the sixth year of Cambyses (524 B.C.) from the archive of the Eanna temple in Uruk. The text, containing an itemized account of receipts and expenditures, records that flour was issued as food for brickburners, watchmen, carpenters, etc., as well as for the "scribe-interpreters" who apparently served the "Cimmerians." One *pān* 4 *sūt* (50 liters) of flour were issued as travel rations to Tatakka' and Ušuka' (q.v.), the other Saka. Evidently, the Eanna temple was obliged to supply some Persian garrison in Babylonia with agricultural products, and two "Cimmerian" (Saka) soldiers guarded the ships which carried the loads. For details see Dandamayev 1982, pp. 101–03. Cf. Zadok 1983a, p. 319 ("a -ka-extended \*Tāta-, a well-attested 'Lallname' for 'father' in the Achaemenid period").

285. Tatia (from \*Tati-).

a) Ta-ti-ia (BE 8, 120:2, collated; see Zadok 1977, p. 100), whose Babylonian bailiff made a loan of 16 *kur* (2,880 liters) of barley in Nippur in 474 B.C. According to Zadok (1977, p. 100), this is "the first Iranian name which is mentioned in documents from Nippur."

b) Ta-ti-ia (TMH 2/3, 189:19, U.E.), whose son Urāna' (q.v.) witnessed a payment of royal taxes in the Nippur region in 417 B.C.

286. Terihiliya (Te-ri-ḫi-li-ia/ia, BE 10, 80:7, 10, Lo.E.), a slave of Gušurri', son of Lābāši. In 421 B.C. in Nippur, he and Tīrā, another

slave of Gušurri', were authorized by their master to receive royal taxes from the Murašû firm. The first component of the name is probably *Tir-*.

*Tērīkāmu*. See *Tīrākām*.

287. *Tigra'* (Ti-ig-ra-a', PBS 2/1, 192:20, U.E.; Ti-gi-ra-a', BE 10, 67:18, [Lo.E.]; 90:11, Lo.E.), whose son Gundakka' (q.v.) witnessed documents drafted in Nippur in 422–421 B.C. On the name see Eilers 1940, p. 205, n. 4; Hinz in ASN, p. 235 ("der Schlanke;" cf. *ibid.* *Ti-ik-ra* which occurs in Elamite texts from Persepolis).

288. *Tihupardesi* (Ti-ḥu-par<sup>ar</sup>-de-e-si, BE 9, 82:12; Ti-ḥu-par<sup>ar</sup>-ta-a'-is, *ibid.* 81:12), whose son Amurkiki was the foreman of a *šušānu* group, witnessed some documents drafted in Nippur in 425 B.C., and collected royal taxes. On the name see Hinz in ASN, p. 236.

289. *Tīrā* (Ti-ra-a, BE 10, 87:7, 10, R), a slave of Gušurri', son of Lābāši. In 421 B.C. in Nippur, he and Teriḥilija, another slave of Gušurri', were authorized by their master to receive royal taxes from the Murašû firm. Cf. Hinz in ASN, p. 237 (\**Tīrā-*); cf. *Ti-ri-ya* in Elamite texts from Persepolis (Mayrhofer in OnP 8.1643).

290. *Tīrākām/Tīrīkām*. On the etymology see Eilers in IBKU, p. 103, n. 3 (\**Tīrī-kāma-*); Hinz in ASN, p. 237 ("Wunschbegehren des *Tīrya*"; perhaps \**Tīrī-* would be more exact).

a) *Ti-ra-ka-am* (BE 9, 54:2), son of Bagapānu (q.v., c). In 428 B.C. he rented his warehouse in the harbor district of Nippur to a Babylonian for a year for two *kur* (360 liters) of barley.

b) *Ti-ra-ka-am* (PBS 2/1, 28:2, 7); *Ti-ri-ka-mu* (BE 9, 68:1, 5, 8); *Ti-ri-ra-ka-am-ma* (BE 10, 56:3, 6, 11); *Ti-ri-ka-am-ma* (PBS 2/1, 11:1, 5, 8, 10); *Tir-ra-ka-am-ma* (BE 10, 10:2, 6); <sup>d</sup>*Tir-ra-ka-am* (PBS 2/1, 159:9; cf. *ibid.*, line 5); [Ti]-ri-ka-a-mu (EEMA 86:7, cf. *ibid.*, line 1); *Tir-ri-ka-am-mu* (EEMA 93:2; 99:2, 8; cf. *ibid.*, line 11; Joannès, p. 112, no. 67); *Te-ri-ka-a-mu* (*ibid.*, 94:2), an agent (LÚ *mār bitī*) of Enlil-šum-iddin, a member of the Murašû house (only in EEMA 94:3 is

he designated as a slave of Enlil-šum-iddin), mentioned in documents from Nippur drafted in 428–423 B.C. He loaned thirty shekels of his own silver and was to be repaid 10 *kur* (1,800 liters) of dates in the measure of the creditor after the new crop (BE 9, 68). He and Mitradāta (q.v., c), another slave of Enlil-šum-iddin, rented a bow fief to use as a garden (PBS 2/1, 159; see also Joannès, p. 112, no. 67). A certain Ilulindar requested Tīrākām to release a man from the Murašû debtors' prison, agreeing to pay a mina of silver if the man ran away (BE 10, 10). At the request of another person, Tīrākām released from prison a beer brewer who was to pay him thirty vats of beer. The guarantor was obliged to produce the brewer at a specified time or pay 2 minas 15 shekels of silver without trial and lawsuit (EEMA 99). Tīrākām loaned someone ten *kur* (1,800 liters) of barley and was to be repaid in his own measure (EEMA 86). An artisan agreed to make him an upper "Median" garment (EEMA 93). A craftsman undertook to make Tīrākām a woolen garment for thirty shekels of silver and to pay one mina of silver if he failed to deliver it on time (EEMA 94). Tīrākām paid twenty shekels of silver as rent for a house (BE 10, 56; see also PBS 2/1, 28) and granted a loan of twenty *kur* of dates with the debtor's field as security (PBS 2/1, 11).

Thus, Tīrākām appears in documents not only as an agent of the Murašû house but also as a principal in contracts (Stolper in EEMA, p. 21). Hilprecht (BE 9, p. 72), Cardascia (pp. 11f.), and Zadok (1977, p. 102) assume that Tīrākām *a* and *b* were the same person, but this is not certain.

291. Tīriaiamuš (Ti-i-ri-a-ia<sub>5</sub>-muš, PBS 2/1, 5:11), son of Parnaka (q.v., d), and brother of Uḫējāgam. He witnessed a payment of rent for a field belonging to his brother in 423 B.C. in Babylon where both brothers apparently lived (see s.v. Uḫējāgam for details). On the etymology see Zadok 1977, p. 107 (\*Tīrya-vahu-).

292. Tīribaza' (Ti-ri-ba-za-a', TMH 2/3, 189:11, 15, L.E.), son of Humāta' (q.v.). In Nippur in 417 B.C. he was authorized by his brother Tīriparna' (q.v., a), the foreman of the "Cimmerians," to receive royal taxes due on seven bow fiefs rented to the Murašû firm. Tīribaza's seal

is affixed to the document. On the name see Eilers 1940, p. 201, n. 3; Hinz in ASN, p. 237; Zadok 1977, p. 124. Cf. also Tiribazos in Greek sources (from \**Tiri-bāzu-*).

293. Tiridāta (\**Tiri-dāta-*). On the name see Hinz in ASN, p. 237; Mayrhofer in *OnP* 3:1641 (with previous literature); cf. also Tiridātēs in Greek and TRYDT/TRYDT' in Aramaic sources (cf. Kornfeld, p. 112).

a) Ti-ri-ia-da-a-[ta?], (BM 54205; IBKU, plate III:7), an *ustarbaru* official who leased a plot of land in Babylon for a period of twenty years to a certain Bēl-ittannū, who was to build a house there. The land had been a royal gift to him. The document was drafted before four judges and the "commander of the fort," Bagamīri (q.v. *b*). The date of the text is broken off (it probably belongs to the reign of Darius I). This man might not have been an Iranian, since the text identifies him as "Tiridāta, whose other name was Nabû-kāšir" (Eilers in IBKU, p. 112), but it is known, for instance, that the Persian civil servant Ariayarshan, mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions from the years 461 to 449 B.C., adopted the Egyptian personal name Tachos (Posener, pp. 126–29, 178).

b) Ti-ri-da-a-ta (BE 9, 74:7, 12); Ti-ri-da-ta (PBS 2/1, 116:5, 7); Ti-ri-da-a-tū (ibid. 122:4, R; 139:9), brother of Bagadāta (q.v., *i*) and son of Kakā (q.v., *c*), one of the Areian soldiers who held bow fiefs in Šalammu, near Nippur. He is referred to in documents drafted in 425–417 B.C. as a recipient of rent from the Murašû house.

c) Ti-ri-i-da-a-[tum], (TEBR 120:9 = TBER, plate 89), who ordered a plot of land to be rented out to a certain Guraiau. The text is from Babylon and is dated in the 29th year of Artaxerxes (436 B.C., if Artaxerxes I is meant). It seems that this land belonged to the temple Esagila in Babylon, whose workmen farmed it (cf. Joannès in TEBR, p. 360).

d) Ti-ri-da-a-ta (BE 9, 74:4, 11), son of Ninurta-ētir (a Babylonian name), a holder of one of the bow fiefs of the *ḥaṭru* of the Areians rented to the Murašû house in 425 B.C.

e) Ti-ri-da-a-tū (BE 10, 86:12, Lo.E.), son of Tāta' (q.v., *b*), the foreman of the Areians (LÚ *šaknu ša* LÚ *Arumāja*). In Nippur in 420 B.C. he witnessed a rent payment by the Murašû house for an Areian's field.

f) Ti-ri-da-a-tum (PBS 2/1, 128:16), son of U'ana' (U-la-na-a', probably an Elamite name), a witness to a payment of royal taxes in 418 B.C. in the "land of Šušan" (Susa, i.e., in the capital of Elam or in a town located in the Nippur region; cf. below, p. 153).

294. Tīrijama. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 238 (\*tīryāma-, "strong through Tīrya").

a) Ti-ri-ia-a-ma (BE 9, 64:12; 75:11), whose son Balātu (a Babylonian name), witnessed documents from 427–425 B.C. regarding the payment of rent on lands near Nippur.

b) Ti-ri-ia-a-ma (BE 10, 97:12), whose son Taddannu (a Semitic name) was the foreman of the "Cimmerians" (Sakai) settled in the Nippur region. The document was drafted in 420 B.C. in Nippur.

c) Ti-ri-ia-a-ma (BE 9, 11:12, R.E.; 35:30); Ti-ri-ia-a-ma (BE 9, 30:30; 34:25; 48:33, R.E.; 51:21; 69:[18]; EEMA 1:5; 28:21, rev.); <sup>d</sup>Ti-ri-ia-a-ma (BE 9, 39a:8; cf. also EEMA 25:rev. 4, where his name is only partly preserved), whose son Šamas-uballit (a Babylonian name) is witnessed documents drafted in Nippur in 437–428 B.C.

Tīrikāmu. See Tīrakām.

295. Tīriparna'. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 237 (\*Tīrī-farnah-, "glücksglanz des Tīrya").

a) Ti-ri-par-na-a' (TMH 2/3, 189:8b, 12, 16), the "foreman of the Cimmerians" (LÚ *šaknu ša LÚ Gimirrāja*), son of Humāta and brother of Tīribaza' (q.vv.). In 417 B.C. in the locality URU Enlil-ašabši-iqbi, near Nippur, the Murašû house paid the annual royal tax for seven bow fiefs along the Nippur canal that they had rented from the *ḫaṭru* of the "Cimmerians" (Sakai). The *ḫaṭru* was managed by Tīriparna', and he authorized his brother Tīribaza' to receive 2 minas 40 shekels of silver, the amount of the tax, in order to pay it to the royal treasury. To judge from their names, Tīriparna', his brother Tīribaza', and their father Humāta were Iranians—Persians or Sakai.

b) Ti-ri-par-na-a' (BE 10, 69:R; cf. *ibid.*, line 11, where the name is partly preserved), the foreman of the "Cimmerians," son of Bēl-aḫ-iḏdin (a Babylonian name). In 421 B.C. in Nippur, the Murašû house paid



him the royal taxes due on the bow fiefs of the "Cimmerians." Thus, it seems that this Tiriparna' was the foreman of the "Cimmerians" in 421 B.C., and a few years later in 417 B.C. his post was occupied by someone else with the same name.

296. Tissaphernes, satrap of Caria and a famous Persian diplomat and general. In 401 B.C. he commanded the Persian cavalry which decided the battle of Cunaxa. Later he spent time in Babylonia (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1, 7, 11; 1, 8, 9; 2, 1, 7; 2, 3, 17, etc.). For literature on the name see Mayrhofer in OnP 8.1885 (\**Čiθra-farnah-*, ŠŠPRN in Aramaic sources, etc.; the name is also known from Neo-Assyrian texts in the form of Šitirparna; see Grantovskij, pp. 326f.).

297. Tritantaechmes, son of Artabazus, satrap of Babylonia under Darius I. Herodotus (1, 192) claims that he had, in addition to war horses, 800 stallions, 16,000 mares, and so many Indian dogs that four Babylonian villages had to supply them with food. Herodotus also says that he received an *artaba*-measure of silver every day from his satrapy. It seems, however, that Herodotus' figures are fantastically exaggerated, and this satrap is unknown from other sources. On the name see Justi in INB, p. 164; Zadok 1977, p. 138 (\**Čiθran-tauxma-*).

298. Tūmanīia (Tu-ú-ma-ni-ia, BE 10, 67:16), father of Šamaš-ētir, who witnessed a payment of royal taxes in 421 B.C. Zadok assumes that this is the same name as Tumunu (q.v.), deriving it from \**Tuvāniya-*, "the able, strong (one)" (1975, p. 246).

299. Tumēa (Tu-me-e-a, UET 4, 1:seal 12; 2:36, seal 2), a slave and an official (LÚ *rēš šarri*) of Mitridāta (q.v., *d*). He witnessed duplicate documents drafted in Ur in 396 B.C. relating to the wife of a certain man adopting the children of her husband's first marriage. On the etymology see Zadok 1975, p. 246 (\**Taviya-*, "ability, strength, power").

300. Tumuni' (Tu-mu-ni-i', PBS 2/1, 97:U.E.), possibly the owner of a field. He is referred to in a fragmentary tablet regarding a rent payment in Nippur in 420 B.C. The tablet contains his nail-impression. See

Zadok 1977, p. 104 (\*Tavāniya-; cf. above Tūmanīia).

301. Tumunu (Tu-mu-nu, CT 55, 93:10), whose son Dēmiši (q.v.) witnessed a promissory note drafted in Sippar at the end of the sixth century B.C. The creditor was also an Iranian (see s.v. Šeta'). On the name see Zadok 1983a, p. 319 (\*Tuvāna-, with a reference to modern Persian *tuvān*, "able, strong").

302. Tutu (Tu-ú-tum LU *rab tamkāri*, PTT 85:obv. 3), "chief of the merchants," son of a woman named Indukka (q.v.). He is mentioned in a Babylonian text from Persepolis drafted in 502 B.C. This may be an Iranian name, but its etymology is unknown.

303. Ubaratta. On the name see Zadok 1977, p. 113, n. 260.

a) Ú-bar-[at-ta] LU *Hur-zi-ma-a-a* (Dar. 458:13-14), a "Choresmian," who witnessed a promissory note drafted in Babylon in 505 B.C. The same text mentions the "Cimmerian" Sakita (q.v.).

b) Ú-bar-at-ta LU *Hur-zi-ma-a-a* (VAT 15620:4,6, an unpublished document probably from the reign of Darius II; Eilers 1940, p. 219), a "Choresmian."

304. Udarna'. On the etymology see Eilers 1934a, p. 334, n. 13; Zadok 1977, p. 116 (\*Vidrna-); it is the same name as Vidarna-, a general of Darius I mentioned in the Behistun inscription (Kent, p. 208; cf. also Hydarnēs and WYDRNG in Greek and Aramaic sources; Kornfeld, p. 105).

a) Ú-u'-da-ar-na-a' (BE 10, 7 = TMH 2/3, 181:15); Ú-da-ar-na-a' (PBS 2/1, 107:18); U-da-ar-na (ibid., U.E.), whose son Ḫananu-Jāma witnessed documents drafted in Nippur in 426-419 B.C.

b) Ú-da-ar-na-a' (BE 9, 59:17; 69:1,7,8,12; EEMA 35:11), son of Raḫim-ili, brother of Zabdiša, paternal uncle of Bēl-ittannu. In the people's assembly of Nippur in 426 B.C., Udarna' said that slaves, agents, and relatives of Enlil-šum-iddin had burst into his house and carried away utensils and other property. Enlil-šum-iddin interrogated the accused persons, took the property they had stolen, and returned it to Udarna', who in return pledged in the presence of twenty-two witnesses

that neither he nor his children would institute legal proceedings (BE 9,69). In 432 and 428 B.C. he witnessed rent payments on fields near Nippur (EEMA 35; BE 9, 59).

c) Ū-da-ar-na-a' (BE 10, 84:15), whose son Ḥanni' witnessed rent paid to the Achaemenid prince Achaemenes in 420 B.C. in Nippur. He was probably the same person as Ūdātū a.

Although Udarna' is an Iranian name, all those mentioned here had Semitic patronymics. Udarna', son of Raḥim-ili, was a member of the Nippur popular assembly and consequently a Babylonian and a permanent resident of that city.

305. Udatnu (Ū-dat-nu, Michigan Collection 89:57), issued two shekels of silver "for poles for the king," apparently to be used in the royal palace in Amanu. The text, probably was drafted in Uruk during the reign of Cyrus or Cambyses, also mentions two Medes and a Choresmian. On the name see Zadok 1977, p. 92, n. 7 (\*Hu-dātāna- perhaps instead of \*Hu-dāta-, "well created" or "well built").

306. Udinna' (Ū-din-na-a, Holt, p. 215, RCT 9:rev.4), whose slave witnessed a contract regarding the hire of a slave in Babylon in the tenth year of Artaxerxes (455 B.C., if Artaxerxes I is meant). On the etymology see Zadok 1976c, p. 69 (\*Hu-daina-, "of good religion").

307. Udunatu (Ū-du-na-a-tū, TCL13, 193:25), whose son Ummadātu (q.v.) was a judge in Babylon in 504 B.C. The etymology is unknown (cf. Zadok 1977, p. 93, n. 20).

Ugbāru. See Gubāru a.

308. Uḥdaparna (Uḥ-da-par!-na, BE 9, 86a:1), whose son Ea-zittišu, a slave of Enlil-šum-iddin of the Murašû house, rented a field near Nippur in 424 B.C. On the etymology see Zadok 1981/1982, p. 137 with n. 37 (\*Uxda-farna-, "von *farnah* verkündet, geoffenbart").

309. Uḥbarra' (Ū-ḥe-e-bar-ra-a', PBS 2/1, 173:18, L.E.), whose son Uruddat (s.v. Ruddātu b) acted as a witness during the reign of Darius

II. On the etymology see Zadok 1975, p. 247 (\**Vahya-bara*- "he who brings what is best").

310. Uḫējāgam (Ú-ḫe-e-ia-a-ga-am LU *Pa-ar-sa-a-a*, PBS 2/1, 5:1-2, 6, L.E.), a "Persian," son of Parnaka (q.v., *d*). In 423 B.C. he rented his field near Nippur to the Murašû firm. He lived in Babylon, where he received a mina of silver as part of the rent. The tablet, drafted in Babylon but found in the Murašû archive, contains an impression of his seal-ring. His brother Tīriaiamuš (q.v.) was one of the witnesses. On the etymology see Eilers 1940, p. 202, n. 4; Zadok 1977, p. 107: \**Vahya-gāma*-, "(having born at) a prayer time." Cf. above Naḫiagamma.

311. Uḫiia ([f]Ú-ḫi-ia LU *Ma-du-u'-[i-tum]*, Dar. 57:2), a "Median woman," the wife of the Mede Kakiia (s.v. *Kakā a*). She and her husband rented a house in Babylon in 520 B.C. Apparently, this name renders Iranian \**Vahya*-.

312. Uḫumana' (Ú-ḫu-ma-na-a', BE 10, 9:12, L.E.), whose son Bibā (a Semitic name) witnessed a document drafted in 423 B.C. in Nippur. The Iranian form of the name is \**Vahu-mana*- (Hilprecht in BE 10, p. 66; Zadok 1977, p. 103).

313. Ukiiria (Ú-ki-ri-ia LU *Hur-zi-ma-a-a*, Michigan Collection 89:51), a "Choresmian," who was "in charge of the palm grove of the royal manor near Erech" (i.e., Uruk) during the reign of Cyrus or Cambyses (Zadok 1977, p. 113). He was issued two shekels of silver. On the name see Zadok 1979a, p. 299 (\**Hu-kirya*-).

314. Umahḫatē. On the etymology see Zadok 1975, p. 246 (\**Hu-baxθra*- "having a good share" or \**Hu-vaxθra*-, "eloquent").

a) Ú-ma-aḫ-ḫat-re-e (BE 10, 81:6,9, U.E.; 84:13), whose son Lābāši was the foreman of LU *magullaja* (meaning unknown). Lābāši received rent for fields under his administration from the Murašû house (BE 10, 81). In BE 10, 84 he is a witness. The documents were drafted in 421-420 B.C. in Nippur.

b) Ū-maḥ-ḥat-re-e (TCL 13, 187:14), whose son Bēl-apla-ušur was a witness to a rent payment for a storehouse. The document was drafted in Babylon in the tenth year of "King Darius" (414 B.C., since apparently Darius II is meant; Zadok, 1977, p. 98, writes that the tablet is undated). On the name see Zadok 1975, p. 247 (\**Hu-vaxθra*- "the frequent"; *Iranica* 1989/90, p. 274, where he reads the name as Ū-ma-aḥ-pa-re-e.

315. Umahpirē (Ū-ma-aḥ-pi-re-e, VAS 3, 190:11), whose son Pa-[...]-ḥu-u' witnessed a promissory note drafted in Babylon in the 28th (?) year of Artaxerxes (437 B.C., if Artaxerxes I is meant). The name is probably Iranian. Zadok (1977, p. 98) reads it as Ū-ba/ma-aḥ-ḥu-ud/t-ri-e, but the copy of the text does not confirm this reading. Cf. now Zadok 1989/90, p. 274.

316. Umakuš (Ū-ma-kuš, ABC, p. 114:1), Artaxerxes III. According to the Babylonian chronicle, in the fourteenth year of Umakuš, "who is called Artakšatsu," "the prisoners which the king took [from] Sidon [were brought] to Babylon and Susa." Thus Sidon which had revolted against Persian rule was captured by Artaxerxes III in 345 B.C. The name renders the Babylonian transcription of the Old Persian *Vahuka*-, Greek Okhos (cf. Zadok 1976c, p. 70). The name is usually read *Umasu* (the last sign can be read as *kuš* and *su*). Though Schmitt suggests *Umakuš* (Schmitt 1982, p. 89), according to Stolper, "the reading *Umasu* is still preferable by standards of Late Babylonian orthography, and this form would render \**Va(h)uš*, the name from which \**Vauka* is derived" (EEMA, p. 115, n. 21).

Umakuš (or Umasu) in Babylonian astronomical texts refers to Artaxerxes III (for references see Sachs, pp. 138-142), Darius II (*ibid.*, p. 131), and Artaxerxes II ("Umakuš called Artakšatsu the king"; *ibid.*, p. 133).

317. Umamuši (Ū-ma-mu-ši, BE 9, 83:19, L.E.), a slave of the Achaemenid prince Manušānu (q.v.). He was a witness to a payment of royal taxes in Nippur in 425 B.C. and probably was an Iranian. Cf. Zadok 1977, p. 105.

318. Uma'piria (Ú-ma-a'-pi-ri-ia, EEMA 35:4), whose son Munnatu (q.v.) owned land near Nippur in 432 B.C. On the name see Zadok 1977, p. 111 (\**Huvā-frya*-).

319. Umardātu (Hu-ú-mar-da-a-tú, BE 10, 34:15, L.E.; 35:13; 36:13; 45:13, R.E.; 46:17, R.E.; PBS 2/1, 6:12; 31:15, L.E.; 103:9; Ú-mar-da-a-tú, BE 10, 8:8, R.E.; 18:14; 20:12, R.E.; 22:9, L.E.; 24:11, L.E.; 25:11, L.E.; 26:15; 32: L.E.; 36: L.E.; 37:11, L.E.; 41:12, U.E.; 42: U.E.; 50:13, U.E.; 54:15, L.E.; PBS 2/1, 8:7, R.E.; 14:8, R.E.; 153:8; 180:13, L.E.; 185:13, L.E.; EEMA 81:[9]), a judge of the Sîn canal district in Nippur in 429–419 B.C. (PBS 2/1, 185:13, etc.). Many documents of the Murašû archive were drafted before him and two other judges, Ištabuzana' (q.v.), who had an Iranian name, and Bēlšunu, a Babylonian. Their patronymics are not given (cf. Eilers in IBKU, p. 6; Cardascia, p. 20). On the etymology see Mayrhofer in OnP 8.1718 (\**Xvar-dāta*-, "von der Sonne geschenkt"); Hinz in ASN, p. 130; Zadok 1977, p. 101. The same name also occurs in Elamite texts from Persepolis in the forms Ú-mar-da-da, Ú-mar-da-ad-da (Hallock in PF, p. 768).

320. Umar'mira' (Ú-mar-a'-mi-ra-a', Pinches 1891/1892, p. 134:13), a witness in a slave sale contract concluded in 523 B.C., probably in Humadēšu. He bore the title LU *up-pa-de-tum* šá KUR *Hu-ma-de-šú*, "governor (?) of the country of Humadēšu," a city in Persis (Zadok 1976d, pp. 70f.; Stolper 1984, p. 307). The determinative used for the city name is found in other contemporary tablets.

The title *uppadētu* occurs in other documents drafted in Babylon and Borsippa at the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth century B.C. VAS 6, 128, drafted in Borsippa in 510 B.C., records the obligation of a certain man to issue a fixed quantity of barley and flour every month to a group of persons. The document was drafted before two judges (one of whom was "the judge of the palace gate"), a scribe-interpreter, an official with the title *ina muḥḥi dāti* (i.e., "in charge of law," *dātu* being an Old Iranian word meaning "law"), and a certain Šulum-ana-Bābili (without patronymic) who bore the title LU *ap-pa-da-tum*. Among the witnesses to a promissory note written in 488 B.C. between two Babylonians is Nabû-nādin-aḥi *up-pa-de-e-ti* (BV 116, line 7). His seal

is attached to the tablet. Finally, Unger, no. 57 (= BOR 4, 132), a text written in Babylon in 129 B.C., mentions a certain Itti-Marduk-balāṭu LU<sup>1</sup> *rab banī (ša) muḥḥi āli* LU<sup>1</sup> *up-pu-de-e-tú ša bītāt ilāni*. McEwan translates this as "the building inspector (?), who is in charge of the city, the commissar of the temples" (McEwan 1981, p. 18 and n. 64; cf. also van der Spek, p. 50). McEwan suggests that this word is the Persian equivalent of the Babylonian *paqdu ša bīt ilāni*, "commissar of the temples." The text records that Bēl-lumur, the administrator of the Esagila temple in Babylon, told the above-mentioned Itti-Marduk-balāṭu that two sons of an astrologer were capable of making the observations and therefore the wages which had been paid to their father should be given to them.

Von Soden (AHw, p. 1424) with a reference to Mayrhofer offers an approximate meaning "overseer" for this Old Iranian word. To judge from the texts discussed above, the title designated a city governor.

On the etymology of Umar'mira' see Zadok 1976d, p. 78 (possibly, \*Hu-vāra-yīra-, "having good-willed slaves").

321. Umartaspa' (Ū-mar-ta-as-pa-a', PBS 2/1, 70:Lo.E., cf. *ibid.*, line 17), whose bailiff Bēl-ab-ušur witnessed a document regarding rent paid in Nippur in 421 B.C. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 129; Zadok 1975, p. 247 (\**Hu-varta-aspa-* or \**Varta-aspa-*, "he who turns horses").

322. Umarzanu (Ū-ma-ar-za-nu, VAT 15620:4, an unpublished document cited in Eilers 1936, p. 219). See Zadok 1977, p. 100: \**Vrzana-*, with a reference to Eilers 1936, pp. 218f. V. Livshits offers the etymology \**Hu-vrzana-*, "(possessing a) good estate."

323. Umastanu (Ū-ma-as-ta-nu, VAS 5, 118:20), one of three "judges" who witnessed a slave sale contract drafted in Dur[...] in 482 B.C. The two other judges respectively had Babylonian and Iranian names (cf. s.v. Bagamišu). On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, pp. 246f.; Zadok 1977, p. 93 (\**Hu-vastāna-*, "well-dressed").

Umasu. See Umakuš.

324. Ume'barra (Ú-me-e'-bar-ra, PBS 2/1, 159:2), whose son Tammišnūri (a Semitic name) held a bow fief near Nippur under Darius II (the year is broken off). On the etymology see Zadok 1981/1982, p. 137 (\**Vahī-bara*-).

325. Umintaparna' (Ú-mi-in-ta-pa-ar-na-a', LÚ *Pār-sa-a-a*, von Voigtlander, pp. 38 and 47, lines 86, 87, 110), a general of Darius I in the Babylonian version of the Behistun inscription, a "Persian" and the son of Vāyaspāra. In November 521 B.C. he crushed the revolt of Araḥa (Nebuchadnezzar IV) in Babylonia and took him prisoner. In the Persian version of the inscription he is called Vindafarnah-, and in the Elamite version Mi-in-da-par-na (Kent, p. 208; cf. s.v. Mundaparnu). Herodotus (3, 70, 78, 118, 119) calls him Intaphernes.

326. Ummadātu (Um-ma-da-a-tú LÚ DI.KUD, TCL 13, 193 = CIS II, no. 66:25; Am-ma-da-a-tú, Dar. 435:15), a judge in Babylon. In Babylon in 504 B.C. Marduk-nāšir-apli, the chief of the Egibi business house, borrowed forty-five minas of silver from a royal official (LÚ *rēš šarri*) on security of eight slaves and a field (TCL 13, 193). "Ummadātu, a judge, son of Udunatu," Atarbanuš (q.v.), son of Bagadātu, three judges who bore Babylonian names, and a number of other persons were witnesses. The seal of Ummadātu is affixed to the document. The enormous size of the loan explains why so many important persons acted as witnesses. In Dar. 435—drafted in Šuman, part of Babylon, in 506 B.C.—Ummadātu is mentioned as a judge together with two other judges with Babylonian names. But his name in this document is spelled Ammadātu (with his title but no patronymic). The text is much damaged and probably records a legal process regarding a house in Babylon.

Zadok thinks that Ummadātu and Ammadātu are different names and derives them from \**Hauma-dāta*-, "created by Haoma" and \**Amā-dāta*-, "created by force" (Zadok 1977, p. 93). It is improbable, however, that such similar names were borne by two Iranian judges in Babylon at the same time.

The name \**Hauma-dāta*- occurs in Elamite texts from Persepolis as *Am-ma-da-ud-da*, etc. (Haddock in PF, p. 666) and in Aramaic papyri



and the Book of Esther as HWMDT and HMDT' (Mayrhofer in OnP 8.45; Hinz in ASN, p. 120).

327. Umurū (Ú-mu-ru-ú, YBC 11607:13, unpublished), whose son Atimušū (q.v.) was one of the witnesses to a promissory note drafted in -16 B.C. in Ecbatana.

Unnatu. See Unuatta *b*.

328. Unuatta. On the name see Zadok 1976b, p. 215 (\**Vanata*-). See also s.v. Munnatu.

a) Ú-nu-at-ta (TMH 2/3, 201:12), a slave of a certain Marduknija and a witness in a document drafted in Borsippa in the 36th year of Artaxerxes (429 B.C., if Artaxerxes I is meant).

b) Un-na-tú (BE 9, 83:8, R.E.), a slave of the Achaemenid prince Manušānu (q.v.) and foreman of the *šušānu* workmen of the royal storehouse. In 425 B.C. in Nippur, the Murašū house paid him royal taxes due on some bow fiefs.

c) Un-na-tú (BE 9, 7:5; EEMA 10:5), mentioned in a broken context in the lease of water from a canal near Nippur in 429 B.C. He was probably the father of a tenant named Iddin-Bēl (BE 9, 7). A subordinate of Unnatu and the governor of Nippur rented several fields to the Murašū house in 439 B.C. (EEMA 10).

d) Ú-na-at (BE 10, 15:20), whose son Bagarapa (q.v.) witnessed a lease of royal land near Nippur in 423 B.C. in a document found in the Murašū archive but drafted in Babylon.

e) Ú-na-at (EEMA 19:5, 34), owner of a field near Nippur, which in 427 B.C. was rented to the Murašū house. Cf. also Ú-na-[at] in EEMA 56:12 where the context is broken. It is possible that he is identical with Unnatu *b*. Zadok (1989/90, p. 274) suggests reading Un-na-par for Un-na-tú (cf. the Egyptian name Wnn-nfr.w attested as WNPR in Aramaic script). Although the sign *tú* can be read as *par*, the spellings Ú-nu-at-ta and Ú-na-at contradict the reading of the name as Un-na-par.

329. Uparē (Ú-pa-re-e LÚ DI.KUD, VAS 6, 309:2), a "judge" issued 8 1/2 shekels of silver for one jug of wine. The place where the text

was written and the date are not preserved. According to Zadok, the name may render the Old Iranian \**Hu-pāra-*, "leading to a prosperous issue" (Zadok 1981/1982, p. 138).

330. *Urāna'* (*Ú-ra-a-na-a'*, TMH 2/3, 189:19, U.E.), son of Tatia and witness to a payment of royal taxes for bow fiefs of the "Cimmerians" in Enlil-ašabši-iqbi, near Nippur, in 417 B.C. On the name see Zadok 1975, p. 247; idem 1977, p. 104 (either \**Vārāna-* or \**Hu-rāna-*, "with beautiful thighs").

331. *Urāza*. On the etymology see Hinz in ASN, p. 255 (\**Varāza-*, "boar"; cf. ibid. *Ma-ra-za*, *Mar-ra-za* in Elamite texts from Persepolis).

a) *Ú-ra-zu* (PBS 2/1, 13:3; 51:3), [*Ú-ra*]-*za-a'* (EEMA 36:4), whose sons Šamaš-nāšir and Šalamānu (Semitic names) received rent for their land from the Murašû house in 425–423 B.C.

b) *Ur-ra-za-a'* (EEMA 62:rev.4), whose son—his name is not preserved—witnessed a promissory note drafted in Nippur in 437 B.C.

Cf. the place-name *Urāzu-mētanu* (Cyr. 37:12), "the abode of boars" (*Varāza-maiθana-*; Zadok 1976d, pp. 72f.), in western Iran.

332. *Urdia*. On the etymology see Zadok 1975, p. 247 (\**Vṛdiya-*, "increase, grow, thrive").

a) *Ur-di-ia* (VAS 6, 187:17), son of Pamū (*Pa-mu-ú*) and witness to a promissory note in the thirtieth regnal year of Artaxerxes (435 B.C., if Artaxerxes I is meant). The place where it was drafted is not preserved.

b) *Ur-di-e* (PBS 2/1, 105:Lo.E.), a slave of Uštana' and a witness in a document drafted in Nippur in 419 B.C.

*Urudātu* (*Ú-ru-da-a-tú*, BE 10, 50:13, U.E.). See *Umardātu*.

*Uruddat* (*Ú-ru-uđ-da-at*, PBS 2/1, 173:18, L.E.). See *Ruddātu b*.

*Uskuduru'* (*Us-ku-du-ru-u'*, BE 9, 74:4) see *Iskuduru'*.

333. *Usmā* (*Us/z-ma-a*, TMH 2/3, 171:2, without the personal determinative), son of Nabû-aḥḥē-bulliṭ and owner of land in Ṭābānu, near

Borsippa. In 494 B.C. he received rent of 1 *kur* 2 *pān* (252 liters) of dates. On the etymology see Zadok 1977, p. 95 and n. 44 (\**us/zma-*, "reverent"?)

334. Uspamiš (Us-pa-mi-iš, VAS 6, 307:12). According to this undated document, Uspamiš was issued seven shekels of silver for a jug of wine. A reference to a messenger of Uštānu, governor of Babylonia, dates it to the end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century B.C. The place where the document was issued is not indicated.

Ungnad (1960, p. 81) assumes that this Uspamiš and Aspamiššu (q.v.) were the same person. According to Zadok, such an identification is impossible since *aspa* is never rendered in late Babylonian texts as *us-pa*. He thinks that the first component in Uspamiš may be *višta* (1977, p. 96, n. 53)-. But since Aspamiš and Uspamiš are both referred to in connection with the satrap Uštānu, their identification is probable.

335. Uspara' (Us-par-a', BE 9, 48 = TMH 2/3, 144:33; Us-par-ru-ú, PBS 2/1, 12:14; 217:U.E.; Us-pa-ar-ra-a', EEMA 95:18), son of Dārparna' (q.v., *b*). In Nippur in 429 B.C., he witnessed a promissory note for a large quantity of wool (EEMA 95). EEMA 25 is a lease contract for a canal, in which he appears as a witness (his name is partly destroyed, and the date is broken off). In other documents he witnessed rent payments for land in Nippur in 429-418 B.C. On the etymology see Eilers 1934a, pp. 333f. (\**Vahyas-para-*); Zadok 1977, p. 104 (\**Vispa-parva-*).

Uspataru'. See Ispataru'.

Uštābuzana'. See Ištābuzana'.

336. Uštānu. On the name see Eilers in IBKU, pp. 34f., n. 2 (\**vištāna-*). The same name occurs in Aramaic texts of Achaemenid times as WŠTN (Kornfeld, p. 106) and in Elamite tablets from Persepolis as Ú-iš-da-na, Mi-iš-da-na, etc.; cf. Greek Hystanēs (Mayrhofer in OnP 8.1780; Hinz in ASN, p. 267).

a) Uš-ta-nu LÚ NAM E.KI *u e-bir* ÍD (Dar. 27:3), Uš-ta-an-ni LÚ

NAM E.KI u e-bir ÍD (Dar. 82:2); Uš-ta-ni LU *pe-ḥat-tum* E.KI u URU *e-bir* ÍD (BRM 1, 101:4); Uš-ta-an (Ungnad 1960, p. 79, Amherst 258:2); Uš-ta-nu (ibid. 3, 8, 9, 10, 15; VAS 6, 307:14), governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River.

In 520 B.C. in Bīt-Kalbā, probably near Borsippa, Uštānu, governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River, authorized several persons (their occupations are not indicated) to receive 144 *kur* 1 *pān* 5 *sūt* (35,986 liters) of barley to make beer (Dar. 27). Kurullāja, a "slave of Uštānu, the governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River," loaned two minas of silver in Babylon in 519 B.C. on security of the debtor's house (Dar. 82; BRM 1, 101, undated, discussed below).

Ungnad 1960, p. 79 (Amherst 258) is from Borsippa and is dated by its editor to the end of Darius I's or the beginning of Xerxes' reign—i.e., in the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. It records the issue of 29  $\frac{2}{3}$  minas of silver for the purchase of meat, wine, fish, beer, vegetables, and sweets as rations for a number of Persian dignitaries and their suite. It seems that they were sent from the royal residence in Susa (line 26: KUR *Šu-šá-an-na*) to Borsippa on some important mission. Uštānu, who appears without title, was issued six minas of silver, three rams, and a jug of wine. Thirty shekels of silver were given to Marduka, a scribe-interpreter of Uštānu. Finally, the "gate-keeper of Uštānu" was issued half a shekel of silver. According to VAS 6, 307, a messenger of Uštānu was paid half a shekel of silver. No date or place is given.

The documents which mention Uštānu as the governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River belong to the beginning of Darius I's reign and come from Babylon, Sippar, and possibly other cities. Apparently, Uštānu was a successor of Gubāru (q.v.), being appointed to his post soon after the defeat of Nebuchadnezzar IV's (Araḥa) insurrection in November 521 B.C. (cf. Schwenzner, pp. 243f.; Ungnad 1940/1941, pp. 241ff.; Leuze, pp. 192–98; Olmstead, p. 46; Graf, p. 87; Oppenheim 1985, p. 563; Stolper 1989, p. 289).

Uštānu, the governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River, the priest of the Ebabbarra temple in Sippar, and the chief administrator of the same temple ordered three cuneiform scribes, a scribe-interpreter, and the royal commissioner of the temple to compose regulations for the

lease of temple fields. Although the text with this instruction of Uštānu (BRM 1, 101) is undated, the context fixes it in the sixth year of Darius I (516 B.C.) in Sippar (cf. Graf, p. 106, n. 31). Probably, similar regulations were made for other Babylonian temples. These texts also mention a slave, gate-keeper, messenger, and a scribe-interpreter who were in the service of Uštānu.

His name occurs in Herodotus (7, 77) as Hystanēs.

b) Uš-ta-na-a' (PBS 2/1, 105:8, 11, Lo.E.), owner of an estate near Nippur. In 421 B.C. the Murašû house rented a field from him and paid in barley through his bailiff Urdia (q.v., *b*), who impressed the document with his "iron seal-ring" (which called him the slave of Uštānu). This Uštānu may have been the grandson of the satrap who bore the same name. Stolper writes that this Uštāna was a prince, but the text does not give him any title (EEMA, p. 66).

c) Uš-ta-nu (in Nār-Uštānu, BE 9, 65:8), the "canal of Uštānu" near Nippur (Zadok 1985, p. 394), possibly named after Uštānu, the satrap of Babylonia. The document was drafted in Nippur in 427 B.C.

d) Uš-ta-nu (UET 4, 44:4). A document, drafted in Ur in 372 B.C., records the lease of a field next to Uštānu's field. He perhaps was Ostanēs, the son of Darius II and grandfather of Darius III (Zadok 1977, p. 106).

e) Uš-ta-nu (VAT 15617:3, an unpublished text; see Eilers in IBKU, p. 35), whose slave Kī-Sīn is mentioned in an undated text. Uštānu *a* and *e* may have been the same person.

337. Ušuka' (Ú-šu-ka-a', VAS 20, 49:rev. 9), a "Cimmerian" (Saka) soldier "in charge of ships" mentioned in a document from the Eanna temple in Uruk in 524 B.C. (For details see s.v. Tatakka'). The name occurs in an Elamite text from Persepolis as Ú-šá-ka-ya (Hallock in PF, p. 770). On the etymology see Zadok 1983a, p. 319.

338. Uzā (Ú-za-a, Stigers, no. 221, 3, 9), son of Kakā (q.v., *b*), who sold a slave woman in 503 B.C. in URU Giššu (whose location is unknown) to Nidintu, a slave of the Iranian Bagapa' (s.v. Bagapāna *b*) for the very high price of 2 minas 5 shekels of silver. Her name was Anmazaja (lines 2, 12: Am-ma-za-a-a), and Uzā's name had been

written on her hand. She may have been an Elamite (cf. Elamite *amma*, "mother," see CAD A/II, p. 66). She is called *ḥa-su-u'-tum* (line 3), i.e., a woman with a speech defect (cf. CAD H, p. 129), perhaps because she knew little Babylonian. Uzā probably is an Iranian name.

Uzupa'taru. See Ispatara'.

Vindafarnah-. See Umintaparna' and Mundaparnu.

339. Warōhī (WRWH', AD, 10:1, 11:1), a Persian prince who owned an estate in Egypt but lived at least for some time in Babylon. A letter (no. 10) from the archive of the Egyptian satrap Aršāma contains Warōhī's complaint that his manager had not brought him any rent on his land in Egypt. Aršāma orders his manager Neḥtiḥūr to instruct Warōhī's bailiff Ḥatu-Bâstī to collect the full rent on Warōhī's land and bring it to Babylon. Warōhī's own letter (no. 11) to Neḥtiḥūr says that "here" (i.e., in Babylon) he has complained to Aršāma regarding Ḥatu-bâstī, because he is not bringing any rent. Then Warōhī requires that Neḥtiḥūr should instruct his bailiff to bring the rent "to me at Babylon." Warōhī also adds that Ḥatu-bâstī or his brother or his son must come "to me in Babylon with the rent." The letter is undated and belongs to the second part of the fifth century B.C.

340. Zabraganu (Za-ab-ra-ga-nu, TCL 13, 223:1 in URU Bīt-Zabraganu; Zadok 1985, p. 110), mentioned in the name "Estate of Zabraganu," a place near Babylon. The masculine determinative is omitted before the name. The document is undated and the place where it was drafted is not indicated. According to Zadok, "Zab/praganu looks identical with the Iranian name spelled in Greek Zabregan" (Zadok 1976d, p. 72, n. 124).

341. Zamaspa'. On the name see Hinz in ASN, p. 143 (Avestan *jāmāspa-*, "leading horses"). It occurs in Elamite texts from Persepolis as Za-ma-āš-ba, etc. (Haddock in PF, p. 772), and in an Aramaic papyrus of the Achaemenid period as ZMSP (Kornfeld, p. 106). Cf. Zadok 1976b, p. 213.

a) *Za-ma-as-pa-a'* (TMH 2/3, 142:1, 5, 6), son of Surummu (q.v.) and holder of a bow fief on the bank of the Nippur canal which was rented out in 464 B.C. (cf. Zadok 1977, p. 104, where the document is dated to 423 B.C.)

b) *Za-ma-as-pi LU du-ra-bar-ra* (BM 30136, an unpublished document; Zadok 1975b, p. 214 with a reference to D. A. Kennedy, a law official. The place of issue and date are lost.

342. *Zanganu* (*Za-an-ga-nu*, BE 9, 8:8), whose son *Iqīšā* (a Babylonian name) who owned a bow fief near Nippur in 438 B.C. For literature on the name (*\*Zangāna-*) see Zadok 1977, p. 103, n. 142.

343. *Zānukku* (*Za-nu-uk-ku*, EEMA 119:5), who owned land near Nippur in 430 B.C. His patronymic is not given. On the etymology see Zadok 1975, p. 247 (*\*Zānuka-*, a retrenched name from *\*zānu-*, "knee").

344. *Zatamē*. For literature on the name see Zadok 1977, p. 98, n. 69 (*\*Zāta-vahya-*).

a) *Za-ta-me-e* (BE 9, 45 = TMH 2/3, 143:30; BE 9, 50:13; PBS 2/1, 30:24, U.E.; 211:14, L.E.; EEMA 7:10; 12:15), whose agents *Nināku* (an Iranian name) and *Kidin-Bēl* witnessed documents drafted in Nippur in 431–418 B.C. His patronymic is not given. Though Eilers (1940, p. 202, n. 4) says he was a Mede, his ethnic origin is not indicated in the texts.

b) *Za-ta-me-e* (BE 10, 1 = TMH 2/3, 29:2), whose house was mentioned in the lease of a neighboring house situated on the ramp of the god *Bēl* in Babylon. His patronymic is not indicated. *Enlil-šum-iddin* of the *Murašû* house rented the neighboring house from *Aplā*, son of *Ḫarmahī*, for a period lasting "until the going out of the king" (line 7: *ašê šarri*) for the very high rent of 1 1/2 minas of silver (cf. Stolper in EEMA, p. 122). The contract was drafted in Babylon in the accession year of Darius II (434 B.C.).

c) *Za-ta-me-e* (BE 10, 75:11), whose son *Bēl-ittannu* was second-in-command to the overseer of *LU rabarabarānu* (apparently an Iranian word, the exact meaning of which is unknown: Hinz in ASN, p. 195).

The document records the payment of royal taxes through Bēl-ittannu, son of Zataṁē, for several bow fiefs near Nippur. The document was drafted in Nippur in 421 B.C.

345. Zattumēšu (Za-at-tu-me-e-šú LÚ *ma-gu-šu*, OECT 10, 163:3), a "Magus." The document adds important information to the meager data on the activities of Iranian magi in Achaemenid Babylonia. Zattumēšu magus owned a field near Kish adjacent to a temple field (line 2: *zēru makkūr* <sup>d</sup>Bēl) and to private land of a Babylonian. The text is dated in the reign of Darius I (the year is destroyed).

Zattumēšu is an Iranian name that I think can be derived from *zantu*- "tribe" (AiWb, cols. 1660f.) and probably *vaisa*-, "servant" (ibid., col. 1328), i.e., "a servant of the tribe" (\*Zantu<sup>v</sup>aisa-). The assimilation *nt>it* is due to occasional Akkadisms. Several personal names with the component *zantu*- (Old Persian \**dantu*-) are attested in Elamite texts from Persepolis (Dandamayev and Livshits, pp. 457-59).

According to a private communication from Prof. W. Hinz, the Babylonian scribes distinguished *s* and *š* in rendering Iranian names. Therefore, the second component in Zattumēšu would be the Old Persian or Median \**maiša*-, "ewe," and the name would mean "Stammesschaf." W. von Soden with a reference to Mayrhofer proposes "mit hundert Knechten," deriving the name from \**Sata-vaisa*- (von Soden 1986, p. 156).

346. Zimakka'. On the name see Hinz in ASN, p. 143 (*jīvaka*- from *jīva*-, "lebendig"). It occurs in Elamite texts from Persepolis as Zi-ma-ak-ka, etc. (Hallock in PF, p. 775; Mayrhofer in OnP 8.1849) and in an Aramaic papyrus of Achaemenid times as ZYWK (Kornfeld, p. 106).

a) Zi-ma-ak-ki-i' (BE 10, 37:18), whose son Aḥu'u (a Semitic name) witnessed a promissory note drafted in Nippur in 423 B.C.

b) Zi-ma-ka-a' (BE 9, 76:4; BE 10, 70:18); Zi-ma-ak-ka-a' (EEMA 39:3), whose son Baga'ina (q.v., c), owned a bow fief near Nippur in 425-421 B.C. that was part of the lands granted to the Indian soldiers.

347. Zopyros, Persian satrap of Babylonia under Darius I. According to Herodotus (3. 153-58, 160), during the siege of Babylon after its



revolt against Darius I, Zopyros mutilated himself and then went into the city pretending to be a deserter. The Babylonians believed that it was Darius who had mutilated Zopyros and entrusted him with the command of some troops. Some time later Zopyros opened the city gates, and the Persians occupied Babylon. Darius gave the government of Babylon to Zopyros and assessed no taxes on it (this, of course, cannot correspond to reality). Cf. also Ctesias' statement about these events in König 1972, p. 10, no. 22.

348. [...] -aḥi-iddin LU *Ma-da-a-a* (VAS 6, 252:6), a "Mede" with a Babylonian name mentioned in a fragmentary text without date or place. The tablet contains a list of officials (a "royal merchant," a "merchant of the governor," etc.).

349. [...] -as-pi LU *pa-ra-as-ta-mu* (HSM 8405:18, unpublished), a "foreman." He and another Iranian, Rušunpātu (q.v., c), witnessed a promissory note drafted in 458 B.C. Rušunpātu also bore the title LU *parastamu* (see above s.v. Piridātu).

350. [...] -bar?-ri *Ma-da-a-a* (VAT 15626, an unpublished text from Babylon; Eilers 1940, p. 202, n. 4), a "Mede," who is referred to with several individuals from Egypt and Tyre.

351. [...] -bi-ia-a' (Mélanges Dussaud, plate 2:17), an inhabitant of the country of Parsumaš, who lived in Babylon during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II.

359. [...] -ḥa-ka-a' (Kelsey Museum 8133:16, unpublished), son of Bagamma' (q.v.), a witness at a lease of cattle.

353. [...] -mu?-da-pi URU *Hur-zi-ma-a-a* (YOS 7, 154:11), a "Choresmian" (literally a "man from the city of Choresm"). A text drafted in Uruk in 527 B.C. records that officials of the Eanna temple were ordered to send fifty slaves to Šamaš-erība, the commander of an outpost, and this Choresmian in order to guard the post. Cf. Zadok 1977, p. 113.



*Part Three*

*Inhabitants of the Iranian Plateau  
and Central Asia in Babylonia*



## 1. Elamites

Elamite onomastic material in Akkadian sources is known from at least the middle of the third millennium to the second century B.C. (Zadok 1983b; idem, 1984b; idem 1987, pp. 1-16). The Elamites are referred to in Sumerian and Akkadian records by their ethnic name (in such cases they frequently bear Mesopotamian names) or with their proper names, which usually are Elamite.

From around the year 596 B.C. Elam was under Babylonian influence for several decades. Under Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562) there were already many Elamites in Babylon, some probably hostages. A text from the royal archives mentions a group of 713 Elamites (LÚ.NIM.MA.KI.MEŠ) who were issued rations of oil in Babylon (Mélanges Dussaud, p. 929). This group was headed by a certain Nabû-le'û (a Babylonian name). CT 56, 776 from the archive of the Ebabbarra temple in Sippar, dated in the third (?) regnal year of Nebuchadnezzar II (602 B.C.), records the issue of various sums of money to individuals. An "Elamite" (line 13: LÚ *e-la-mu-û*) with the Babylonian name of Šamaš-šum-līšir received thirty shekels of silver. His title is partly broken off but probably can be restored as [LU.GAL]-šū-nu, "their [chief]"—i.e., the foreman of the persons listed in the text.

It can also be noted that the Elamite goddess Kanisurra belonged to the divine retinue of the goddess Nanaja of Uruk whose cult was influential in the Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid periods (Stolper 1986, pp. 237f.).

As seen from documents dated in the reign of Nabonidus, the last Chaldean king, Elamites lived in various cities of Babylonia. Thus, according to VAS 3, 55, in 541 B.C. Udunē, son of Imbadenna (to judge by his name and patronymic, he was an Elamite), took a loan of 135 *kur* (24,300 liters) of barley from a royal official (LÚ *rēš šarri*) in Babylon. The loan was to be paid at a specific time in the measure of a certain Mardû (probably an Iranian name). Aldašu, son of Altenna

(Elamite names), stood as the guarantor for the debtor. As seen from the text Udunē had received a loan of 80 *kur* (14,400 liters) of barley from the same official in 547 B.C. Witnesses to this promissory note were Elamites, to judge from their names: Zabirija, son of Lalhenna; Didea (a retrenched Babylonian name), son of Urtagu (cf. below); etc. (Zadok 1976d, pp. 63f.). All these persons bore the title LÚ *mukīl appāti*, "chariot drivers." The scribe of this document, Bēl-iqīša, despite his Babylonian name was Udunē's brother. Udunē lived in Babylon at least between 547 and 541 B.C.

The typically Elamite name Urtagu, borne by an Elamite king, occurs in a number of Babylonian documents. VAS 3, 198 drafted in 553 B.C. records that a certain Urtagu (line 4, 6, 8: *Ur-ta-gu*), together with a few Babylonians, was issued 75 *kur* 2 *pān* (13,572 liters) of dates for some official purpose. The patronymic of Urtagu is not indicated in the text, which is usual when persons of foreign origin are meant. Apparently the same Urtagu (Uštagu) is referred to in VAS 6, 72 (line 3), dated in 550 B.C. He was issued a quantity of dates in Borsippa and in its suburb Šušan. He was probably an official in the state bureaucracy (cf. Eilers 1940, pp. 202f.; Zadok 1976d, p. 63; see also idem 1987, p. 26, n. 54, where it is said that *Urtaku* looks like a *ka*-extended Old Iranian \**vṛta*-). Urtagu ANBO 878 (on p. 49) may also belong to the reign of Nabonidus. It records that "the Elamite (lines 2-3: LÚ *ē-la-mu-ū*) Ummanšipir" returned three iron spades to a temple storeroom. The tablet probably comes from the archive of the Ebabbarra temple in Sippar. Neo-Babylonian texts mention other Elamites who lived in Mesopotamia (Zadok 1987, p. 25, n. 54). Moreover, in 563 B.C. a group of Babylonians in the Elamite city Hīdalu constituted an assembly there, i.e., a local self-governing body (Zadok 1987, p. 26, n. 54).

It is natural that under the Achaemenids, connections between Elamites and Babylonians became more regular. During the Achaemenid period many Babylonians lived in Susa, the capital of Elam. Thus, in an Akkadian document written in Susa (Šušan) in 447 B.C., several Babylonians are listed as contracting parties and witnesses (Ruten, pp. 83-85, no. 4). Two documents in Akkadian have been discovered among the Elamite Persepolis tablets. One records the revaluation of silver paid as royal taxes (PTT 85). The second is a private legal

document, written at Persepolis (Parsu) during the reign of Darius and recording a slave sale. The contracting parties, the scribe, and most of the witnesses have Babylonian names (Stolper 1984, pp. 300ff.).

Nine legal documents in Akkadian recording slave sales and loans were drafted in the city of Ħamadēšu, in southwest Iran. As Zadok has shown, Ħamadēšu was the Old Persian toponym (ḥ)u, Adabaya or the Elamite Matezziš (Zadok 1976d, pp. 67-71; cf. Stolper 1984, p. 306). These documents are dated between the fourth regnal year of Cambyses and the rule of Barzias (526-522 B.C.). Six of them come from the archive of the Egibi business house in Babylon. With a few exceptions, contracting parties, witnesses and scribes were Babylonians.

As seen from the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury tablets, many Babylonians were administrative functionaries and workmen in the royal household in southwest Iran. Several Persepolis Fortification tablets which belong to the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. mention Babylonian scribes. They numbered between three and thirty-one men (PF 1807, 1808, 1810, etc.). As noted in the documents themselves, these scribes wrote on skin (probably in Aramaic).

A Babylonian, Bēl-ētir by name, was engaged carrying documents of the state chancellery from Persepolis to Susa and back (PF 1381). Hitibel, another Babylonian, was a state messenger in southwest Iran (PF 1339). The Babylonian Marduka was the treasurer of a royal store-room in Elamite town of Liduma (PF 81, etc.). According to one document (PF 1512), a Persian official sent several messengers from Iran to Babylon. Persepolis Fortification tablets also mention considerable groups of Babylonian workmen (*kuriaš*) in the palace household in Persia and Elam (PF 868, 1811, etc.).

In the Achaemenid period there were close commercial connections between Babylonia and Elam, and Babylonians often went on business to that neighboring country. According to the Dar. 442, in 505 B.C. a ship loaded with barley was sent from Babylonia to Elam with six persons on board. In 499 B.C. two Babylonians went "to Elam with a ship (loaded) with garments" (Dar. 569). A number of documents show that the Egibi firm had trading agents in Elam. For instance, in 499 B.C. one of the members of the Egibi house paid to four persons "wages and rations for three months (to go) to Elam" (Dar. 572). To

judge from Camb. 143, written in the Babylonian city of Opis in 538 B.C., Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, the head of the Egibi house, bought a slave woman in Elam and later sold her in Babylonia. Babylonians also went to Elam to perform military (Dar. 308, etc.) and state labor service (Michigan Collection 26, etc.). Artisans from Babylonia, along with craftsmen from other countries of the Achaemenid empire, worked building the royal palaces in Susa. In particular, the Babylonians dug earth, made bricks, and carved wood (Kent, p. 142; Vallat 1971, pp. 57f.; idem 1972, pp. 8, 10, 12).

Some documents contain evidence about the employment of hired labor from Elam on the temple estates in Babylonia. According to CT 56, 193, drafted in the ninth regnal year of Darius I (513 B.C.), 116 *kur* (20,880 liters) of barley and dates were issued from the storerooms of the Ebabbarra temple in Sippar to Elamites working for nine months under the control of the Ebabbarra temple administrator (also CT 56, 762). CT 56, 193, also mentions another group of Elamite workmen who were issued six *kur* (1,080 liters) of dates and seven containers of vegetable oil. In 515 B.C. "workmen from Elam" were issued a considerable quantity of dates, vegetable oil and silver (Dar. 230). A document recording expenditures of money by the Ebabbarra temple in 502 B.C. mentions an allowance of twenty-five shekels of silver to Elamite laborers for food on their journey home (Dar. 516). Elamite workmen came to Babylonia during the harvest season and then returned home. Temples and private individuals in Mesopotamia were forced to use hired agricultural labor on a large scale. It was sometimes difficult to find the necessary number of workers, and they had to be hired at an extraordinarily high rate of pay. Apparently, the Elamite workers were not so well organized as the Babylonian hired laborers, and therefore it was much more profitable to hire workmen from Elam.

Under the Achaemenids, representatives of many different nations settled in Babylonia. The number of Elamites also increased there. They appear in various business documents as contracting parties and witnesses (cf. Zadok 1987, p. 25, n. 54). VAS 5, 146, tells that several Elamites (LU *e-la-mi-e*), whose names are broken off, took a loan of 22 *kur* (3,960 liters) of barley and 32 shekels of silver. The text is undated but prosopographic evidence indicates that it belongs to the reign of



Cyrus (cf. Zadok 1976d, p. 64). A document from Uruk dated in the time of Cyrus mentions a witness named PŠI-ahhē-eriba (a Babylonian name) who was a descendent of Imbadara (YCS 7, 30:10). The latter name renders the Elamite Humban-tahraḥ (Zadok 1976d, p. 64). According to Dar. 301, in 511 B.C. a certain Samannapir, apparently an Elamite, married his daughter to an Egyptian in Babylon. A slave sale contract, drafted in Babylon in 532 B.C., mentions as a witness Tammari, son of Untani, who probably was an Elamite (ROMCT 2, 4:13; cf. Zadok 1984c, p. 70).

It has been a common opinion that in the Achaemenid period there existed quarters of the cities of Babylon and Borsippa named Šušan, after Susa, the capital of Elam (Unger, pp. 81f.). However, F. Joannès has recently shown that there existed no quarter named Šušan in the city of Babylon. The Šušan mentioned in documents from Borsippa was located not far from there (F. Joannès, "Un quartier fantôme de Babylone," N.A.B.U., 1989/3, pp. 54f.). There was a town named Šušan near Nippur (BE 9, 4; Dandamayev 1986b, p. 290). But these localities may have been named for the social group of *šušānu* and not for the capital of Elam (Joannès, *ibid.*, p. 55).

Finally, a late Elamite tablet and a late Elamite letter have been discovered at Sippar (Walker 1980, p. 80).

The texts discussed above prove that many Elamites lived in the cities of Babylonia, and some Elamites went there for seasonal work.

## 2. Medes

Cultural and economic contacts between Babylonia and northwest Iran began in remote antiquity. Early Babylonian cultural influence on Iran is attested by two pre-Achaemenid Babylonian inscriptions found in western Media (Diakonoff 1978, pp. 51ff.; Dyson, p. 49). When Assyria was captured by the allied Median and Babylonian armies in 612 B.C., ties between Media and Mesopotamia became regular. As a result of the destruction of the Assyrian empire, the Medes captured the Assyrian homeland of northern Mesopotamia and the Harran region in Upper Mesopotamia. By the very end of the fifth century B.C. the

indigenous Assyrian lands were viewed as Median in popular memory: Xenophon writes in the *Anabasis* (3, 4, 7) about a large city on the Tigris named Larissa where the Medes had lived in former times. He also notes that the population of the city Mespila (on the territory of Assyria) was Median in the past (ibid., 3, 4, 10).

Relations between Babylonia and Media soon became strained as both countries tried to establish hegemony in the Near East. Thus, some documents from Babylon dated in 595–570 B.C. record the issue of food to foreigners from royal storehouse. One of these aliens was a "refugee from Media" (see above s.v. Madbannu). A Babylonian letter written in about 591 B.C. mentions that several Babylonians had fled to Media and an order by King Nebuchadnezzar II to return them had remained unanswered (GCC I II, 395). Thus, both Babylonian and Median rulers willingly accepted refugees from the other.

There is also evidence of Iranians (probably Medes) already being in Babylonian temple service before the Persian conquest. Two duplicate documents from Nabonidus' reign mention a certain Bagi'āzu, a royal official assigned to the Eanna temple in Uruk (YOS 6, 169/231). Both documents come from the archives of the Eanna temple and were drafted less than three months before the Persian occupation of Babylonia in 539 B.C. He was a probably a descendent of a Mede at the court of Nebuchadnezzar II some fifty years before.

When Mesopotamia was captured by the Persians and, like Media, became a Persian satrapy, Babylonian businessmen engaged in various transactions in Media. Some documents of the archive of the Egibi business house were drafted at Ecbatana, the capital of Media, and in several other localities of western Iran (Zadok 1976d, pp. 72ff.; cf. Stolper 1984, p. 308, n. 34). One tablet, written at Ecbatana (KUR Agamatanu) in 537 B.C., is a promissory note for 1 1/2 minas of silver loaned by Itti-Marduk-balāṭu, son of Nabû-aḥḫē-iddin, the chief of the Egibi house in Babylon. The debtor was to pay the loan in dates according to the exchange rate in Babylon. To judge by their names, contracting parties, scribe, and witnesses were Babylonians (Cyr. 60). According to another document, Itti-Marduk-balāṭu received a considerable sum of money during his stay in Ecbatana and agreed to repay it in Babylon. A loan of twenty shekels of silver was made by the same Itti-

Marduk-balātu to a Babylonian. This promissory note was drafted in 533 B.C. in an uncertain town of west Iran (KUR Ailtanmu Dūrgaraš) and contains a stipulation that the debt should be repaid in Ecbatana. Again all the persons referred to in the document bear Babylonian names (Cyr. 227; cf. Stolper 1984, p. 308, n. 34).

Sliders no. 13 provides information about Babylonians in Ecbatana in 491 B.C.—i.e., during the reign of Darius I. All the persons (except perhaps Bagadāta) mentioned in this text were Babylonians, but none of them are referred to in other published tablets. Some may have been permanent residents of Ecbatana. A certain Bunene-ibni, son of Bēlna'id, lent thirty-five shekels of silver to Taddinnu, son of Nergal-ētir, on the condition that two other persons engaged in transactions with the contracting parties paid twenty-two *kur* (ca. 3,960 liters) of dates to the creditor in the vicinity of Sippar, in Babylonia. If they did not, Taddinnu was to return the thirty-five shekels of silver and its interest to Bunene-ibni (cf. Dandamayev 1986a, pp. 117ff.). These and other tablets (Cyr. 29, 37, 58) show that soon after the Persian conquest of Mesopotamia Babylonians began to make business trips to Media.

In the Achaemenid period many Medes resided in Babylonia as state officials, royal soldiers and possibly also as private persons. In some cases, their reasons for living in Babylonia are not known to us. Michigan Collection 89 is a document from the archives of the temple of Eanna in Uruk regarding temple expenditures, the beginning of which is broken off but which is datable to the time of Cyrus or Cambyses (Gubāru, the governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River, is mentioned). Among other expenditures, some money was issued to obtain food for the soldiers at military posts. A temple slave tending cattle belonging to the Persian king is also mentioned (line 15). Some money was spent to rent a boat to deliver bricks to the royal palace, apparently located in Amanu, near Uruk. Thirty shekels of silver were issued to the "Mede, the chancellor" (line 41: LU *Mādāja bēl tēmi*) whose name is lost in the text (cf. Stolper 1989, p. 302). Mentioned also are a Mede named Šummu and a Choresmian. Finally, the document records that three shekels of silver were paid to a coppersmith who was to make a figure of a copper bull to be put in the palace of the Persian king.

According to Dar. 51, a Mede (*Ma-da-a-a*), Kakia by name, had a

field near Babylon. In 520 B.C. he was issued five *kur* (900 liters) of dates by the Egibi house, apparently as rent. Kakia and his wife Uḫiia lived in Babylon in a rented house, whose furniture and household utensils were also rented from the Egibi house (Dar. 57). Another Mede, Ninakku, lived in Borsippa in 499 B.C. His slave woman, a Babylonian named Eṭirtu, was used as security for a loan, but she ran away from the creditor in the night (VAS 4, 160). The Mede Bumasa, mentioned in a letter from the archives of the Ebabbarra temple, was a state official in Sippar in 518 B.C. (CT 55, 43). The text issues him five *kur* (900 liters) of dates.

Two documents from the Murašû archive mention an Iranian woman named Madumītu. According to Zadok, this should be translated "a Median woman" (Zadok 1977, p. 113). A text from the same archive refers to a "Median" (*Ma-du-u'-i-tum*) upper garment (EEMA 93:1; see also Zadok 1977, p. 113).

In a number of cases Medes bore typical Babylonian names, e. g. [...]aḫi-iddin (VAS 6, 252:6).

Finally, the very scanty archaeological evidence regarding Medes in Babylonia includes a burial at Nippur with "traces of leather shoes, pants and head covering suggesting the type of dress worn by the Medians or certain Far Eastern subjects of the Achaemenians" (Zadok 1981/1982, p. 138 with a reference to McCown, p. 146).

### 3. Persians

References to Persians in Babylonian texts begin with documents dated between 595–570 B.C. recording the issue of rations to foreigners at Nebuchadnezzar's court in Babylon. These mention three Persians: Anšia, Bagindu, and an individual whose name is broken off. In a document drafted in Babylon in 541 B.C. (VAS 3, 55), two years before the Persian invasion of Babylonia, the Iranian name Kurrašu is found. This is the Old Persian name Kuruš, Cyrus. This Kurrašu was the father of a certain Mardû, one of the witnesses to a promissory note. Because other witnesses to this document have Elamite names, Zadok considers Kurrašu to be an Elamite name later borrowed by the Persians

(see above s.v. Kurrašu). However, Elamites often gave their children Iranian names. Thus, a Babylonian text from the beginning of the sixth century B.C. mentions a certain "Bagindu the Elamite" at the court of Nebuchadnezzar II. This is certainly an Iranian name. The same text also mentions a certain "Bagindu, a resident of the country Parsumaš." A text from the same archive speaks of the "Elamite Marza," another Iranian name. Finally, a Babylonian tablet drafted in Humdēšu during the reign of Cambyses refers to Niriabignu "the Elamite." In other words, he is designated as an Elamite despite of his clearly Iranian name. Thus, the name Cyrus could have been borrowed by the Elamites from the Persians.

The remaining documents that refer to the ethnic name of the Persians belong to the Achaemenid period. According to VAS 4, 87/88 drafted in Babylon in 521 B.C., a certain Iddin-Nabû sold his slave to a third man and was paid his price. Nevertheless, Iddin-Nabû sent the same slave to house of a certain "Persian" (line 6: *Bû LU Par-sa-a-a*, without any proper name). The buyer of the slave had complained to the court of law, which decided that Iddin-Nabû was to pay the plaintiff 2 minas 15 shekels of silver, i.e., the price of the slave and the interest on this sum. A much later document refers to the "Town of the Persians" (BE 10, 101:13: *URU Bû LU Par-ri-sa-a-a*). According to this text, 15 minas of silver were paid in 419 B.C. in Nippur as royal taxes from fifteen bow fiefs located in a number of places, including the "Town of the Persians." This town was located in the Nippur region and apparently was named after some Persians (cf. Eilers 1940, p. 202, n. 2; Zadok 1977, p. 108).

In a record drafted in Dilbar during the reign of Darius I, the Persian Aḥšēti, son of Kamakka, acts as a witness along with four Babylonian judges and two temple officials. The text contains a decision concerning two fields, the owner of which asserted that they did not belong to the king (VAS 6, 171). Another Persian, Padakka by name, possessed an estate in 508 B.C. in Bīrtu ša Kinā (possibly near Sippar, Dar. 397). Two documents from 508–507 B.C. mention the Persian Partammu as the owner of a house in Babylon (Dar. 379 and 410). The Persian Uḥējāgam, son of Parnaka, who lived in Babylon in 423 B.C., owned a field located near Nippur. He was issued one mina of silver as rental by

the Murašû firm. Tīriaiamuš, brother of Uḫējāgam, is also listed among witnesses (PBS 2/1, 5). The Persian Arbatema' was the owner of a storehouse in Borsippa. In 485 B.C. he collected half a year's rent for this storehouse (VAS 4, 191).

All above-mentioned individuals bearing Iranian names are designated as Persians in the documents themselves. Some documents from Babylon and Sippar mention a steward and other officials subordinated to the crown prince Cambyses, who lent money to Babylonians through his manager (Cyr. 177; cf. above s.v. Kambuzija).

Houses and land of the Persian princes Aḫiamanuš, Arrišittu, Aršāma, Artarēme, Dundana', Ipradāta, Manuštānu, etc., as well as the estate of the princess Amisirē, were situated in the Nippur area in the second half of the fifth century B.C. (cf. Stolper in EEMA, pp. 59–67). The Persian nobility began to settle in Babylonia, becoming large landowners and renting out their fields. The estates of Queen Parysatis (Purušātu) are also mentioned in a number of documents from Nippur (see above s.v. Purušātu). Two tablets drafted at Nippur in 434 and 429 B.C. record the payment of rent from an "estate of the Lady of the palace" (*bīt sinništi ša ekalli*) that was at the disposal of the Murašû firm. As Stolper has noted, both these texts (BE 9, 28 and 50) refer to land in the same place. In his opinion, the "lady of the palace" was certainly a queen, possibly one of four wives of Artaxerxes I or his mother Amestris (Stolper in EEMA, p. 62).

Two Murašû documents use the word *umasupitrû* (BE 9, 101:2; BE 10, 15:4, 6), which, as Eilers has shown, is a Babylonian transcription of the Old Iranian *\*vaisapuθra-* "son of the house," i.e., crown prince. These texts refer to the crown prince's estate but do not mention his name (Eilers 1962, pp. 55ff.; cf. Stolper in EEMA, pp. 59–62).

It is quite natural to suppose that a considerable number of the individuals with Iranian names referred to in Babylonian texts without indication of their ethnic origin were Persians and to a lesser degree, Medes.

There were also Iranian toponyms in Babylonia. URU Aḫ-šá-a-nu (BE 10, 54:3) was a locality near Nippur. Some fish pools were at the disposal of the Murašû firm and were rented out in 423 B.C. Zadok assumes that Aḫšanu probably renders Old Iranian *\*Xšāna-*, "domain" (Zadok 1976c, p. 65). Two documents (CT 49, 118:3 and 181:6),

drafted in Babylon in 262 and 259 B.C., mention a place named *Bīt-a-bi-is-tatū-ū*, perhaps rendering the Old Iranian \**ibi-stāta*- "master" (Zadok 1983c, p. 217).

#### 4. *Sakai*

According to Herodotus (7, 64), the Persians called all the Scythian tribes Sakai. The Greeks called all the nomadic tribes of the south Russian steppes and Central Asia Scythians. In modern scholarly literature "Scythians," as a rule, denotes the ancient inhabitants of the northern coast of the Black Sea, while the Scythians of Central Asia are called Sakai.

The Babylonian texts call the Sakai "Cimmerians" (*Gimirrāja*), using the name of the tribes that had penetrated the Near East in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.—i.e., some time earlier than the Scythians. In the Persian and Elamite versions of the Achaemenid inscriptions, the Scythian tribes appear as Sakai, while in the Babylonian versions the same tribes are called Cimmerians. It seems that Cimmerians and Scythians (Sakai) were related, spoke different Iranian dialects, and could understand each other without interpreters. It was typical of Babylonian literature of the first millennium B.C. to use archaic ethnic nomenclature. In contrast to the Babylonians, the Assyrians distinguished Cimmerians from Scythians. Assyrian records mention also Sakai. The only Babylonian text to mention Sakai is CT 55, 93:9 (Sippar, reign of Darius I), which refers to a certain Dēmiši as a "Saka."

Some Babylonian economic documents dated in the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar II and Nabonidus show that Cimmerians and Scythians influenced the equipment of the Babylonian army even before the Persian conquest of Mesopotamia. Documents from Uruk and other Babylonian cities mention "Cimmerian" horse harness and armaments—that is leather straps, special bows, and arrows with bronze and iron heads—used by Babylonian soldiers. Thus, according to a document from Uruk drafted in 564 B.C., "Cimmerian leather straps" (*mašak illi ša LU Gimirrāja*) were at the disposal of an overseer of horses belonging to the temple Eanna (GCCI I, 122). A private letter from the reign

of Nabonidus asks to have "Cimmerian straps" sent to the writer (CT 22, 105). An economic document from the archive of the Eanna temple in Uruk dated in the fifteenth year of Nabonidus (541 B.C.) mentions "200 Cimmerians reed arrows of which 180 are with copper heads, one Cimmerian bow," etc. (YOS 6, 237). The document TCL 12, 114, drafted in Uruk in the same year, contains a list of armaments and garments for eight archers who served as watchmen, including 56 "Akkadian" (*Akkadēti*) and 116 "Cimmerian" arrowheads, of which 46 had iron heads.

The Cimmerian and Scythian bows were more powerful than the Assyrian and Babylonian bows and spread quickly in western Asia during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Bronze arrowheads of the same shape as those of the Scythians and differing from the Babylonian arrowheads were discovered in Carchemish, Nineveh, Assur, Babylon, and in other cities. Scythian arrowheads were discovered also in the ruins of ancient cities besieged by Medes and Persians but not by Scythians. It is known from the work of Herodotus (1, 73) that the Median king Cyaxares sent Median boys to Scythians who had emigrated to Media to learn from them the use of the bow. Usually scholars attribute arrowheads of the Scythian type found at the walls of cities of western Asia to Iranians—i.e., to the Scythians, Medes, and Persians—and determine the ethnic origin of soldiers by the types of arrowheads. But legal and administrative documents from Babylonia require a reconsideration of this assumption, for the Babylonians had already adopted Scythian bows and arrows before the Persian conquest of Mesopotamia, a mold to cast arrowheads of the Scythian type has been found in Mosul, Iraq. Cimmerians were among the Assyrian mercenaries, and the Assyrian king Esarhaddon had a Cimmerian bow. Thus, not only Medes and Persians but to a certain degree also Babylonians adopted equestrian archery tactics from the Scythians, or Sakai (for details see Dandamayev 1979, pp. 106–8).

Sakai (*Gimirrāja*) are referred to frequently in Babylonian administrative and business documents of the Achaemenid period, often as royal soldiers—members of the military colonies established by the Achaemenid administration after the conquest of Babylonia. In BE 8, 80, drafted in 529 B.C., Gubāru, the Persian governor of Babylonia,



ordered a canal to be given to the "Cimmerians" to irrigate their field, which was probably in the Nippur region. In Dar. 458, drafted in Babylon in 505 B.C., a "Cimmerian" named Sakita, a Choresmian, and other persons witness a business transaction. BE 10, 97, drafted in Nippur in 420 B.C., records the payment of royal taxes in money, beer, flour, barley, etc., for bow fiefs belonging to the "Cimmerians" and rented out to the Murašû firm. The payment was made through Taddannu (a Semitic name), "foreman of the Cimmerians," son of Tīrijama (an Iranian name). According to TMH, 2/3, 189, two minas forty shekels of silver were paid in 417 B.C. as royal taxes on grain fields constituting seven bow fiefs of the "Cimmerians" near Nippur.

Thus, as seen from a number of tablets, a military colony of "Cimmerians" existed around Nippur in the second half of the fifth century B.C. These "Cimmerians" rented out their fiefs to the Murašû house, whose agents paid rent to the holders of the fiefs and taxes in kind (grain, beer, sheep, etc.) and in money to the king. The "Cimmerians" mentioned in the documents from Nippur usually bear Babylonian names, but their superior (LÚ *šaknu ša* LÚ *Gimirrāja*) was a certain Tīriparna', son of Humāta'. Tīribaza', brother of Tīriparna', is also mentioned in the same tablets. As we have seen above, a certain Taddannu, son of Tīrijama, was also a "Cimmerian" foreman. To judge by their names, they were Persians or Sakai (cf. Zadok 1977, p. 123). Beginning with the Achaemenid period proper names with the theophorous element *ūr-* are attested for Persians, Parthians, and Scythians in Elamite administrative documents from Persepolis, in Greek inscriptions from the northern coast of the Black Sea, and in the works of Greek and Roman authors (for references see Dandamayev 1977, p. 37, n. 48.).

To what nation then did the "Cimmerians" of Babylonian records belong? When the Cimmerians and Scythians invaded western Asia, not all of them perished and some probably settled in Babylonia. But Cimmerians and Scythians, who came to western Asia without their women, were soon completely assimilated into the native population. So these could hardly be the people referred to in the Babylonian records under consideration. One might suppose that some Scythians from the tribe of Orthocorybantioi in Media or even Cimmerians from

Asia Minor could have served in Babylonia before the Persian conquest of Mesopotamia, and descendants of these immigrants might be mentioned in these texts. But since it was the Persian administration that established military colonies in Babylonia, it is natural to suppose that these "Cimmerians" were Sakai from Central Asia, subjected during the reigns of Cyrus II and Darius I. Probably, many Sakai from Central Asia who served in the Persian army were in Babylonia.

The Scythians of the northern coast of the Black Sea could not have been referred to in Babylonian records since beginning with the reign of Xerxes the Achaemenid inscriptions do not mention them at all in the lists of vanquished nations. Moreover, references to Gimirrāja already occur in Babylonian documents of Cambyses' reign, long before the campaign of Darius I against the Scythians of the Black Sea coast.

By the fifth century B.C. the Sakai had adapted themselves to Babylonian customs and often gave their children Semitic names.

It is well known that the Saka tribes supplied the Achaemenid army with great numbers of soldiers accustomed to continuous military life. Mainly they served in the army as equestrian archers. One document, discovered at Uruk and dated in the sixth year of Cambyses (524 B.C.), indicates that some Sakai served as sailors in Babylonia (VAS 20, 49). The city where it was drafted is not mentioned or is broken off. However, to judge from prosopographic evidence, it comes from Uruk. The tablet contains a list of rations issued to temple workmen. One *pān 4 sū* (60 liters) of flour were issued to the "Cimmerians" Ušuka' and Tatakka', "who were in charge of ships." Thus, some of the Sakai soldiers in Babylonia took care of boats carrying loads sent at the order of the royal administration. In this case the loads consisted of foodstuffs issued by the Eanna temple. The same text also mentions interpreters whose services were necessary for communication between the Sakai and Babylonian officials.

### 5. *Areians*

Some Babylonian documents of the Achaemenid period mention the term LÚ *Ar-ú-ma-a-a* (BE 9, 74:8; BE 10, 111:7, etc.; cf. LÚ *Ar-ú-a-a*

in PBS 2/1, 122:10). This ethnic name denoted inhabitants of the country Aria, or Areia (the Old Persian Harāiva-, Avestan Harōiva-, Elamite Harima, Babylonian KUR A-ri-e-mu in the Achaemenid inscriptions, Greek Areia; Eilers 1934a, p. 333; Zadok 1977, p. 113). The Greek authors called them Areioi or Arioī. Harāiva lay to the east of Parthia, on the territory of Herat in modern Afghanistan, and was a satrapy of the Persian empire. According to Herodotus (7, 66), the Areians were armed with Median swords and their clothes were Bactrian. He adds that the Areians, Parthians, Choresmians, and Sogdians constituted the sixteenth satrapy of the Persian empire (3,93; cf. Arrian, *Anabasis* 3,25,1-7). On the Persepolis reliefs the Areians are depicted with Median swords (Schmidt 1953, pp. 117f.; idem 1957, p. 95).

All references to Areians in Babylonia are found in the Murašû documents from Nippur of the second half of the fifth century B.C. These Areians were military colonists, mainly holders of bow fiefs (cf. AHw, p. 337, s.v. *ḫaṭru*, and CAD H, p. 24, where the term LU *Ar-ú-ma-a-a* is transliterated LU *Ar-šam-ma-a-a* on the assumption that it designated a certain profession or a group of persons dependent on the Persian prince Aršāma; see also König 1928, p. 155; however, such an opinion cannot be accepted). According to BE 9, 74, in 425 B.C. in Nippur eight Areians received two minas of silver, three sheep, and three vats of beer from the Murašû firm as rental for their bow fiefs near Nippur. This document gives a clear notion of the proper names of Areians. With a few exceptions, these names and patronymics are Iranian: Bagā, Ispataru, Tiridāta, Bagadāta, etc. Seven years later, the same persons and three more Areians are mentioned again as receiving about the same rent from the Murašû firm (PBS 2/1, 122). In 420 B.C., Bariki, son of Ḫurušadātu, and some other Areians were paid thirty shekels of silver as rent on their bow fiefs (BE 10, 100). The foreman of this group of Areians was Tattannu, son of Bagajāzu. Ḫurušadātu and Bagajāzu are Iranian names, but their sons had Semitic names.

The Murašû documents show that military colonists from Harāiva had been settled in the Nippur region and were granted bow fiefs. They did not always cultivate their land themselves but rented it to the Murašû firm. Their fiefs were situated in at least five districts: Bīt-Tabalāja, Bīt-Ussartu, Til-Gabbari, Bīt-abi-aḫi, and Šalammu. Sometimes these

Areians gave their children Babylonian names. For instance, in 419–417 B.C. a certain Bēl-nādin, son of Bagadāta, was a foreman of a group of Areians (BE 10, 111:12). His name is Babylonian, but his patronymic is Iranian (cf. Zadok 1977, p. 121).

### 6. Choresmians

Zadok has identified a number of references to Choresmians in Babylonian documents (Zadok 1976b, p. 214; idem 1981, p. 658). The earliest of them, UCP 9/2, 38, belongs to the fifth regnal year of Cyrus, 534 B.C. and mentions a “Choresmian” (line 7: [LÚ *Hur-zi*]-*ma-a-a*; cf. also ibid. 39:6 [LÚ *Hur*]-*ri-im-ma-a-a*) named Dadaparna. The same “Choresmian” is referred to in UCP 9/2, 39 drafted at Bīt-Šapšap (probably near Uruk), probably the same year. Both documents were discovered at Uruk and probably belong to the archives of the Eanna temple. Dadaparna’ was a messenger and was apparently obliged to take care of some palace property. According to YOS 7, 154, in 527 B.C. the Eanna temple was ordered to send fifty slaves to a certain Šamaš-erība, the commander of a fortified outpost (line 1: LÚ *rab kadāni*) near Uruk, and to a “Choresmian” (line 11: URU *Hur-zi-ma-a-a*), whose name is broken off. They were to serve as archers. A document from the reign of Cyrus or Cambyses mentions a “Choresmian” (Michigan Collection 89, line 51: LÚ *Hur-zi-ma-a-a*). Ukiriia by name, who was the manager of the palm grove of the royal manor in Amanu, near Uruk. Finally, Dar. 458, a promissory note drafted in Babylon in 505 B.C., mentions the “Choresmian” (line 14: LÚ *Hur-zi-ma-a-a*) Ubaratta among the witnesses to the document, along with the “Cimmerian” a and some other foreigners.

Zadok has already noted that Choresm must have been conquered by the Persians by 534 B.C. since the Choresmian Dadaparna is referred to in that year as a person in royal service in Babylonia (UCP 9/2, 39; Zadok 1981, p. 658). He could have been in Babylonia only as a subject and a soldier of the Persian king. Apparently it took many years to conquer distant countries like Choresm, Margiana, Bactria, and other lands of Central Asia, to establish the Persian rule there, and then to

move the army to the Babylonian borders. And there can hardly be any doubt that Dadaparna' had been a soldier of the Persian army that occupied Babylonia in 539 B.C.

### 7 Other Eastern Iranians and Indians

A Babylonian document recording the division of the estate of the Egibi business house in Babylon in 508 B.C. mentions a female slave with the Akkadian name Nana-silim (Dar. 379:14). However, she is designated as a "Gandharian woman" (URU *Ga-an-da-ru-i-tum*). A Babylonian sold a slave woman with the same name in Sippar in 512 B.C. (Pinches 1890, p. 104). However, in this text she is called a "Bactrian woman" (URU *Ba-ah-tar-û-i'-i-ti*). Some scholars suppose that the same person is meant in both tablets, but these slave women belonged to different persons and the texts themselves also come from different cities (cf. Dandamayev 1984, p. 108 with n. 33).

Zadok has noted that in the undated document GCCI II, 361:8 and 20, GADA *ga-an-da-ra-sa-nu* is used as the name of a kind of linen, probably from Gandhara (Zadok 1977, p. 125, n. 351; cf. AHW, p. 280). Zadok also thinks that the settlement KSP' in Babylonia, which is mentioned in the Book of Ezra (8:17), may have been named after the Caspians, an Iranian tribe (Zadok 1977, p. 113; see also Eilers 1957/1958, p. 334).

There are also Indians mentioned in Babylonian documents of the fifth century B.C. The Indian satrapy of the Achaemenids occupied the valley in the middle and lower streams of the Indus, territory conquered by Darius I around the year 512 B.C. "Bagazuštu, the foreman (*šaknu*) of the Indians" (LÚ *Indumāja*), son of Bagapāta, witnessed a document in Nippur in 417 B.C. (TMH 2/3, 190:14). The same "foreman of the Indians" appears in TMH 2/3, 191, in the same year as one of the witnesses to a rent payment by the Murašû house for bow fiefs belonging to some military colonists from the country of Harāiva (see s.v. Bagazuštu above for other references). According to another document, an Iranian, Bagaina by name, rented out his field near Nippur in 425 B.C., and Bagazuštu, son of Parurē, "the foreman of the Indians," was a

witness (BE 9, 76:11). These documents show that a colony of Indians existed in the Nippur region. To judge from their names, their foremen could have been Iranians or Indians. Some other Indians who held bow fiefs had Babylonian names. These "Indians" may actually have been colonists from Gandhara (cf. below).

According to Arrian (*Anabasis* 3,8,3), in Babylonia in October 331 B.C. Indian soldiers on war elephants, Bactrians, and Sogdians, fought against Alexander the Great at the Battle of Gaugamela in the army of Darius III. W. Vogelsang thinks that these Indians were almost certainly inhabitants of Gandhara (Vogelsang, pp. 187f.).

### 8. *Religious Pluralism and Cultural Contacts*

As seen from a few Babylonian texts, the Iranian magi (*ma-gu-šú/ma-gu-uš*; cf. the Old Persian *maguš*) appeared in Mesopotamia during the Achaemenid period. Unfortunately, the texts usually do not tell how these magi were employed. Though they probably came to Babylonia to perform religious rituals for the Persians and Medes who resided there as royal officials, soldiers, etc., the magi also performed administrative tasks. A letter from the archives of the Eanna temple in Uruk reports that a magus was supposed to check on stored flour that apparently belonged to the same temple (YOS 3, 66). Another letter from the same archive says that a magus and a temple scribe were assigned to supervise a group of workmen (BIN I, 40). One text from Babylon, drafted in 496 B.C., mentions that provisions were to be issued to certain magi, to the workmen of the royal household (*gardu*), and to some palace officials (VAS 3, 138/139). According to OECT 10, 163, a magus named Zattumēšu owned a field near the city of a during the reign of Darius I. In a promissory note from the same city drafted in the seventeenth regnal year of Xerxes (469 B.C.), a magus whose name is lost is listed among the witnesses (OECT 10, 182, line 13: LÚ *ma-gu-šú*).

Four documents from the Murašû archive mention a place named URU Ḫuṣṣētī-ša-LÚ *maguš*, i.e., town/settlement of "reed huts of the magus" in the Nippur region (BE 9, 88:4; BE 10, 97:8; PBS 2/1. 195:5;

TMH 2/3, 184:8) where there were some bow fiefs belonging to "Cimmerians." A. L. Oppenheim has translated *Huṣṣēti-ša-LÚ* maguš as "settlement of the magi." According to him, "these exponents of Iranian priestcraft were needed for the service of the Persian court and its officials and yet had to live in a separate settlement to avoid contact with the Babylonian *daiva* worshippers" (Oppenheim 1985, p. 579). This is, however, hardly credible. The magi were not obliged to avoid all contact with the local population, and Babylonian documents testify to their connections with Babylonian officials and workmen. They appear as witnesses in legal private documents along with Babylonians. In this connection, it is important to note that dogmatism towards the beliefs of others was alien to ancient religions, and full religious liberty was typical of ancient societies. This had neither moral nor political motives but rather was because there were no notions of false faith, idolatry, or heresy. In polytheistic religions any cult is considered to be valid and all gods are welcome. For this reason ancient societies knew no crusades to impose a particular religion on other nations.

Although the Achaemenid kings considered their own supreme god Ahuramazda the most powerful god, they also believed in the deities of the vanquished peoples, worshipped them, and tried to gain their favor. Thus, these kings worshipped not only Iranian but also Egyptian, Babylonian, Greek, and other foreign gods, to whom they offered sacrifices in order to gain their support (Bickerman, pp. 93ff.). The Achaemenid kings, as well as rulers of other ancient states, also did not try to impose their religion, culture, and language upon the conquered countries. In antiquity, the ruling classes were not interested in supplanting the languages of other nations with their own languages (Diakonoff 1983, p. 14). On the contrary, they often used the languages of the vanquished nations. For instance, the Achaemenid chancellery used Aramaic throughout the empire.

In light of everything said above it is easy to understand that persons who chanced to be in a foreign land, while keeping to their faith, also paid their respects to the local gods as their hosts in the land they were visiting and tried to win the favor of these gods. A tolerant and friendly attitude to the cultures of all nations was a quite logical result of the existence of the Achaemenid empire where Aramaic was the official

language of the state bureaucracy, the Persians played the main political role, and the ancient civilizations of Babylonia and other countries continued to develop.

Many scholars ignore these cardinal features of the ideology of ancient societies. For instance, M. E. L. Mallowan writes that "religious toleration was a remarkable feature of Persian rule" and that Cyrus the Great was "a liberal-minded promoter of his humane and intelligent policy" (Mallowan, pp. 411f.). According to Oppenheim, Cambyses had "a deep-seated religious conviction outweighing political considerations" (Oppenheim 1985, p. 557). However, notions of religious toleration or freedom did not exist in the empire of Cyrus and Cambyses and were not needed: one can tolerate only what one does not like. And there are no grounds to speak about any essential differences in religious or political actions of Cyrus and Cambyses since they both worshipped all the Persian and foreign deities of their empire. Nor is it right to say that the Achaemenids treated the religions of vanquished peoples with tolerance in order not to create additional difficulties on the road to world supremacy because the Achaemenids were indeed believers in the deities of these peoples.

Therefore, it is impossible to agree with the opinion some scholars that "under the late Persian kings Zoroastrianism displaced the Old Babylonian religion" (Woolley, pp. xi and 90). According to A. Schott, the Eanna temple in Uruk fell into decay owing to the Zoroastrian convictions of the Achaemenids (Schott, p. 49, with a reference to a communication of S. Smith). K. Kessler argues that the shift in the cult of the Eanna temple with its new orientation to the god Anu instead of the goddess Ištar could have been connected with the religious policies of Xerxes, who had carried out his reform directed against *daiva* (Kessler, p. 263). But there are no reasons to assume that Xerxes—or other Achaemenids—had any interest in what gods were worshipped by the Babylonians or that he considered the cult of Anu preferable that of Ištar. True, when rebellions broke out in Babylonia in 484 B.C. and 482 B.C., Xerxes destroyed the chief temple of the country, Esagila in Babylon. But in this case he was trying to deprive the rebellious population of the help of the local gods and was not hostile to the latter.

Having conquered Mesopotamia, the Persians became masters of a



country with cultural traditions that had developed for several millennia and used these traditions in their communication with the local population. However, our information about cultural contacts between Persians and Babylonians is extremely scanty, and only a few Akkadian loanwords appear in the Persian versions of the Achaemenid inscriptions (e.g. *agurru*, "kiln-fired brick"). As we have seen above, many Iranian words, mostly administrative and legal, occur in Babylonian records. Some words of cultural and everyday life can also be added to the list.

In an early document dated in the reign of Cambyses, the Old Persian word *artaba* is attested as a measure of capacity in a text recording the payment of rent on land belonging to an Iranian named Bagapāna (Cyr. 316). In the Babylonian version of an inscription of Artaxerxes II the Old Persian word *appadān* designates a colonnaded audience hall (KIA, p. 123:2; cf. CAD A/II, p. 178). In a Babylonian document from 446 (?) B.C. the Old Iranian loanword *dargiš*, "couch," is used twice in a list of furnishings (in the first case it was made of willow wood, in the second of mulberry wood; BE 8, 43:4,9: GIŠ *da-ar-gi-iš*; cf. Zadok 1984a, col. 34f.; CAD D, p. 112).

It seems that the Assyrians and Babylonians borrowed from the Scythians a special cap with a high pointed end called *karballatu* in Akkadian texts. This word is found only in texts of the Neo-Babylonian, Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid periods. Under the Achaemenids, *karballatu* meant a horseman's cap (UCP 9, no. 3; on various forms of this word see Stol, p. 299).

### 9. *Legal and Social Status of Iranians and Other Ethnic Minorities in Babylonia*

Under the Chaldean kings, Babylonia was already a country of mixed population. Babylonia was inundated with Aramean tribes, who lived alongside the local population. The Chaldean kings also deported many thousands of artisans and prisoners of war from various countries to Babylonia. Thus, more than ten thousand Jews as well as groups from other nations (for example, Cilicians) were brought to Babylonia. A Neo-Babylonian letter says that "there are peoples of many languages

in Nippur under the protection of the king" (ABL 238:6). As seen from the *Babyloniaca* of Berossus, many foreigners already lived in Mesopotamia before the Persian invasion of the country (Schnabel, p. 272).

Among such strangers there were not only prisoners of war, some of whom had been reduced to slavery, but also voluntary emigrants. Some Babylonian records on the issuance of rations drafted between the years 590 and 575 B.C. mention many foreigners who lived at the court of Nebuchadnezzar II. Among them there were Lydians, Elamites, Cilicians, "Ionian carpenters," "people from Yavan" (Asia Minor), Persians (residents of the country of Parsumaš), "Egyptians, who were the guards of the mares and monkeys" (including Pusamisku and Niku, well-known Egyptian names), "126 residents from Tyre," "90 sailors from Tyre," "8 carpenters from Byblos," and even "a fugitive from Media" (*Mélanges Dussaud*, pp. 923ff.). Even Greeks served in the army of Nebuchadnezzar II as mercenaries: for instance, Antimenidas, brother of the Aeolian poet Alcaeus (*ALG*, vol. 1, p. 412). Most of these aliens and their descendants remained in Mesopotamia after its conquest by the Persians.

When Mesopotamia became a satrapy of the Achaemenid empire, this fertile land was accessible for immigration, and many aliens began to settle in it. Military colonies of different peoples were established in Babylonia and other satrapies. In addition, persons of foreign origin were often appointed to posts in the administration. For example, a third of all proper names in the documents from the Murašû archive in Nippur are non-Babylonian. These aliens included not only Iranians but also Egyptians, Phoenicians, Jews, Elamites, Carians, Phrygians, Lydians, etc.

The number of Iranians in Babylonia grew gradually. Before the conquest of the country by the Persians only a few isolated Iranian names are attested in Babylonian texts. The number of Iranian names in Babylonian records dated in the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses is very small, and their bearers were usually royal officials. Under Darius I the references to Iranian names grow considerably. An exceptionally large number of Iranian names occur in the records of the fifth century B.C. Among these bearers of Iranian names were Persians, Medes, Sakai,

Areians, and representatives of many other Iranian tribes. According to Zadok's calculations, the Murašû texts mention "not less than 200 individuals who either bore Iranian names, or had relatives bearing such names, or belonged to Iranian population groups" (Zadok 1977, p. 107). The same scholar also notes that "197 (60%) of the 316 individuals who are described as Iranians and/or bore Iranian names are mentioned in the documents from Nippur" (ibid., p. 125). However, it is not necessary to think that the largest concentration of Iranians was at Nippur since most of the documentation for the later Achaemenid period comes from there (ibid., p. 126).

Some of the Iranian names are theophorous and use the components Baga, Mithra, and Tīr (e.g., Bagadāta, Mithradāta, Tīridāta, etc.). Babylonian scribes in fact knew that such names were theophorous since in a number of cases they put the determinative for gods before them. In passing, it can also be mentioned that in the almost completely broken text OECT 10, 190, dated in the reign of Cyrus, a certain Bēltabni-ušur, son of Sūqaja, is referred to with the title "slave of (the god) BE-ri." The last name has been read by McEwan, the editor of the tablet, as *Mit-ri*, i.e., Mithra. However, the name and patronymic of this person are Babylonian. It seems therefore that the name of this god should be read Beri (cf. the personal name Arma-Beri in Jakob-Rost and Freydank, p. 17, no. 7:3, dated in the fourteenth year of Artaxerxes I, i.e., 451 B.C.; see also von Soden, p. 158).

Scholars often identify bearers of Iranian names in Babylonian records as Persians. However, there were also representatives of many other Iranian tribes among them. Sometimes the ethnic origins of the contracting parties, officials, and witnesses are indicated in the records themselves. But only seven individuals are designated as Persians, eight as Medes, three as Choresmians, and several dozen as "Cimmerians" and Areians (Zadok 1977, p. 108). It is difficult, however, to distinguish between Persian, Median, Choresmian, and other Iranian names since in most cases these tribes used similar names and spoke related languages without the help of interpreters. Moreover, we cannot be sure that these bearers of Iranian names were even Iranians in all cases since in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. there were some individuals with Babylonian names whose parents or children bore Iranian names. Eilers

assumes that the bearers of Iranian names living during the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses must have been Persians but that later names were given without any connection to the ethnic background (Eilers 1934b, col. 93, n. 2). It seems to me that persons referred to by Iranian names in the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses, and at least in the first half of the reign of Darius I, could only be Iranians by birth, for at least two or three decades must have elapsed after the Persian conquest of Mesopotamia in 539 B.C. before the Babylonians who had been given Iranian names were old enough to be mentioned in documents as contracting parties, officials, and witnesses. When a number of Iranian names occur in a single document and the father, son, and other relatives have Iranian names, the bearers of these names were certainly of Iranian origin. Apparently Zadok is right in suggesting that "it is reasonable to assume that most individuals bearing Iranian names and/or Iranian patronyms were actually of Iranian pedigree, unless there is evidence to the contrary" (Zadok 1977, p. 91).

In several cases Iranians gave their children Babylonian, Aramaic, or Egyptian names. For instance, in 418 B.C. in Nippur a "Cimmerian" (i.e., Saka) bore the typical Babylonian name Aḫušunu (EEMA 42:2). In 424 B.C. an Areian bore a Semitic name as well as Semitic patronymic (Tattannu, son of Dadia, see EEMA 37:4-5). The "Cimmerians" and Areians who lived in the Nippur region in the second half of the fifth century B.C. usually had Semitic names. The Iranians Bagaina, Artabbari etc., who lived in the fifth century B.C. in Nippur, gave their children Babylonian names like Nidintu-Enlil and Bēl-ittannu. On the other hand, some Babylonians gave their children Iranian names. For instance, a certain Ninurta-ētir gave his son the Iranian name Tiridāta. Sometimes this was a result of intermarriage. When in Nippur the Persian Mitradāta married the Babylonian girl Esagil-bēlet, daughter of Bēl-ittannu, they gave their son the Iranian name Baga'mīri (BE 9, 48 = TMH 2/3. 148). A document from Babylon dated in the year 494 B.C. mentions Gambiia, daughter of Parnakka (VAS 5, 101). Gambiia is apparently an Iranian name and her father bore a distinct Iranian name, but she married a certain Zērūtu, whose name is typically Babylonian. A certain Adabaga', son of Iddin-Nabū, witnessed a rental payment in Uruk in 431 B.C. (BE 9, 39). The name Adabaga'/Hadbaga'

(\*Hadabaga-) has a clear Iranian etymology, namely "together with the god." However, his patronymic is Babylonian, and apparently he was himself of Babylonian or Aramean origin. Other records from the same period (BE 9, 9, etc.) mention another bearer of the same name, Hadbaga', son of Mizdaesu, a judge of the Sīn canal district in the Nippur region. His patronymic is Iranian and evidently he was an Iranian himself.

Since all the names mentioned above—Babylonian and Iranian—are theophorous ("by the grace of the god Ninurta," "given by the god Mithra," etc.), we can assume that their bearers worshipped their traditional gods as well as foreign deities.

As was said above, an important feature of ancient religions was that they were not dogmatic or intolerant of the beliefs of others. Therefore individuals who for whatever reasons happened to be on foreign soil remained faithful to their own gods but also worshipped the gods of the country to which they had gone. Though at the beginning of their stay in Babylonia the foreigners maintained their national identity, traditional languages, customs and cults, they gradually adapted themselves to the local traditions and culture. The aliens were gradually assimilating into the local population; they spoke Aramaic, which had become the customary language of conversation in Mesopotamia. They had business ties with each other and intermarried, sometimes adopting names with no connection to their ethnic background.

Indeed, Aramaic was a very convenient language for communication among peoples who came to Babylonia from all the parts of the empire. It is quite natural that foreigners can never speak the language of their new environment just the same way as the local population. Therefore foreigners are always easily distinguishable from the indigenous inhabitants. However, in all times there exist languages that do not tolerate any deviation from the grammatical norms and languages that are more or less indifferent to any distortion. French and English respectively can serve as examples of spoken languages that illustrate this principle for modern times. In Mesopotamia, the Babylonian dialect of Akkadian strictly demanded the correct use of words, grammar, and style. Babylonian scribes who made grammatical mistakes or whose style of writing was bad were contemptuously called "Hurrian scribes" after the

scribes of the aboriginal population of northern Mesopotamia who wrote also in Akkadian. This would discourage the use of Akkadian by those who had not mastered it. The situation with Aramaic was quite different. Its innumerable dialects kept anyone from establishing any obligatory norms of the grammar. In any case, representatives of various nations did not observe grammatical rules and were hardly blamed at all for their mistakes.

Even the Persians, the ruling nation, were integrating into the life of their new surroundings. In their turn, the aliens exerted a certain cultural influence on the Babylonians. Within several centuries all the groups of national minorities, except the Jews, fully disappeared in Mesopotamia. In that country as well as in other western satrapies of the Achaemenid empire, an agglomeration of nations and syncretization of their cultures and religions proceeded with much intensity. During Hellenistic times these processes continued without fundamental change. Gradually, the synthesis of scientific knowledge, artistic techniques, and religious beliefs of various nations created an essentially new material and intellectual culture. Later, this culture contributed to the triumph of Hellenism, the product of a synthesis of Greek culture with that of the nations of the East.

These processes of syncretization were facilitated by the fact that in the ancient Orient there existed no national enmity, intolerance, no sense of superiority of one nation over another, no racial hatred. As was said above, in antiquity neither state nor ruling classes were interested in replacing languages of other nations with their own: to be exact, they were quite indifferent to such processes. It is true that not infrequently some languages were replaced with others in various countries (e.g., Sumerian was replaced by Akkadian in Mesopotamia, and Mannean and other local languages of northwest Iran were supplanted by Median). However, such processes occurred because of historical reasons, and no one tried to influence them.

The question arises of the obligations of the subjects, including foreigners, towards the Achaemenid kings. All the subjects of the empire had to pay the state and temple taxes imposed on them and were liable for the king's labor and military service. They were also obliged to be loyal and obedient to their rulers. In other respects individuals lived in a

rather mild political and ideological climate. This also explains the quite different political systems (monarchic, oligarchic, aristocratic, democratic and theocratic) existing in the Achaemenid empire. And similarly there were no common laws or ideology binding on all subjects in the empire. The central or local governments did not interfere in social, religious, and private lives of the subjects. Free-born persons could move from one place to another on business or in search of a living.

As we have seen above, foreigners were not discriminated against in economic, social, and cultural life. They were spread over the whole country of Mesopotamia and lived side by side with the local population. They played an active role in different spheres of economic and social life, owned houses, were allotted plots of state land, and owned movable property. Some also served in the royal administration. But what was the legal status of aliens who lived in Babylonia?

Babylonian society of the Achaemenid period consisted of citizens of Babylonian cities with full civic rights (*mār-banê*), aliens, slaves and, finally, various groups of *glebae adscripti* standing between slavery and freedom. Citizens included royal and temple officials, scribes, free-born merchants, craftsmen, and farmers of Babylonian cities. Citizens were members of the popular assembly (*puḥru*) of a temple community, which had jurisdiction in cases involving property and family law. Slaves and *glebae adscripti* were naturally deprived of civic rights. Foreigners who were free-born subjects of the Persian king were deprived of civic rights and had no part in city (or temple) self-government because they did not own property within the city's communal land district, had no access to the Babylonian temples, and consequently could not become members of the popular assembly.

Only free-born Babylonians could become members of popular assemblies. They had a number of economic privileges. In particular, they were given meat and other food of high quality from temple stores during religious feasts. Members of temple communities could also become prebendaries and receive regular income from temple property. Naturally, members of temple communities (and consequently of popular assemblies) were not interested in proselytes, with whom they would have to share their benefits. This lack of interest in proselytes was characteristic of other religious communities in antiquity. Therefore, not

even representatives of the Persian nobility could become members of popular assemblies and were therefore deprived of civic rights.

However, in some cases aliens in Babylonia were settled in considerable numbers in separate and distinct places. Such aliens could establish their own self-government, i.e., a popular assembly. For instance, according to a document from Babylon dated in the reign of Cambyses, "the assembly of the elders of the Egyptians" (*puḫur LU šibūtu ša LU Miširāja*) made a decision regarding lands which belonged to some Egyptians and carried obligations to the state (Camb. 85). One of the elders was Ḫapimena, son of Pišamiš, whose name and patronymic are Egyptian. These Egyptians were to cultivate their plots of land together and share the crop among themselves. As seen from the text, a certain part of the city of Babylon was occupied by Egyptians, who had their own popular assembly that could settle matters of civil law within their colony. There is also other evidence of concentrated Egyptian settlements in the cities of Sippar and Nippur. For instance, "the settlements of the Egyptians" and "the canal of the Egyptians" are mentioned in some Babylonian texts (e.g., BE 10, 43:5). In a number of cases several Egyptians appear in the same document as witnesses and contracting parties. This may be evidence that these Egyptians also lived in considerable numbers in distinct settlements and formed a separate cultural-ethnic group. A similar phenomenon was characteristic also of some other groups of immigrants. In Nippur and its neighborhood each different ethnic group of royal soldiers had its own area under the jurisdiction of their own prefects. As early as at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. Ezekiel (8:1, etc.) mentions "elders" of the Jewish settlements in Babylonia, who apparently decided questions relating to the internal administration of these settlements and judged litigation within the Jewish colonies in Babylonia.

Thus, although the strangers who lived in Mesopotamia had no part in the self-government of Babylonian cities, in some cases such aliens settled in a considerable number in separate places and could establish their own self-government by popular assembly.

These self-governing minorities in Babylonia living alongside the popular assemblies of the citizens in many aspects resemble the *politeumata* of the Hellenistic period. Thus, it seems that the beginnings of the



*politeumata* go back to the Achaemenid period. Therefore the widespread opinion that Greeks established the *polis* system in Babylonia can hardly be right. Babylonians considered such communities of citizens primordial local bodies, since self-government of persons of equal status who constituted popular assemblies was typical of Mesopotamian cities.

In final analysis, the Achaemenid period was a crucial epoch, during which the foundations were laid for important socio-economic and political institutions and cultural traditions which were to play a vital role in world history. The emergence of some of these institutions and traditions has been frequently and unjustly ascribed to the Hellenistic or later periods.



### *Abbreviations*

AAA	University of Liverpool, <i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology Issued by the Institute of Archaeology</i>
AAASH	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
ABC	Grayson, A.K., <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles, Texts from Cuneiform Sources</i> , vol. 5, (Locust Valley, N. Y., 1975)
ABL	Harper, R.F., <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum</i> (London and Chicago, 1892-1914, repr. 1977)
AcIr	<i>Acta Iranica, Encyclopédie permanente des études iraniennes</i> (Leiden)
AD	Driver, G.R., <i>Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.</i> (Oxford, 1965)
ADD	Johns, C.H., <i>Assyrian Deeds and Documents Recording the Transfer of Property</i> , vols. I-IV (Cambridge, 1898-1923)
AHw	von Soden, W., <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> (Wiesbaden, 1959-1981)
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> (Graz)

- AiWb Bartholomae, C., *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Strassburg, 1904, repr. 1961)
- AJAH *American Journal of Ancient History*
- AJSL *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (Chicago)
- ALG Diehl, E., *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, Vol. 1 (Lipsiae, 1925)
- AMI *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, New Series (Berlin)
- ANBO Böhl, F. M. Th., *Assyrische en Nieuw-Babylonische oorkonden* (1100–91 v.Chr.). Mededeelingen uit de Leidsche Verzameling van Spijkerschrift-Inscripties. Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde, deel 82, serie B, 2 (Amsterdam)
- AnOr "Analecta Orientalia," Vol. 8: Pohl, A., *Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen*, Vol. 1 (Roma, 1933)
- AOAT Alter Orient und Altes Testament, Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments, Vol. 6: Parpola, S., *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970)
- AoF *Altorientalische Forschungen* (Berlin)
- AP Cowley, A., *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923)

APAW	Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin)
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientalní</i> (Prague)
ASN	Hinz. W., <i>Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen</i> (Wiesbaden, 1975)
AUSS	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i> (Berrien Springs, Mich.)
BaM	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i> (Berlin)
BE	The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania; Series A: Cuneiform Texts. Vol. 8: Clay, A. T., <i>Legal and Commercial Transactions Dated in the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian Periods, Chiefly from Nippur</i> (Philadelphia, 1908); Vol. 9: Hilprecht, H. V., and Clay, A. T., <i>Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Artaxerxes I</i> (1898); Vol. 10: Clay, A. T., <i>Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Darius II</i> (1904)
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies; Vol. I: Keiser, C. E., <i>Letters and Contracts from Erech</i> , (New Haven, 1917); Vol. II: Nies, J. B., and Keiser, C. E., <i>Historical, Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities</i> (New Haven, 1920)
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> (Leiden)
BNF	<i>Beiträge zur Namenforschung</i> (Heidelberg)

BM	British Museum
BOR	<i>The Babylonian and Oriental Record</i> (London)
BRL 3	Kohler, J., and Peiser, F. E., <i>Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben</i> , part 3 (Leipzig, 1894)
BRM	Babylonian Records in the Library of J. P. Morgan; Part 1: Clay, A. T., <i>Babylonian Business Transactions of the First Millennium B.C.</i> (New York, 1912); Clay, A. T., <i>Legal Documents from Erech Dated in the Seleucid Era, 312–65 B.C.</i> (New York, 1912)
BSCAS	<i>Bulletin of the Southern California Academy of Sciences</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> (London)
BV	Peiser, F. E., <i>Babylonische Verträge des Berliner Museums</i> (Berlin, 1890)
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago</i> (Chicago and Glückstadt, 1965-)
CAH	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , Vol. IV (Cambridge etc., 1988)
Camb.	Strassmaier, J. N., <i>Inscriptionen von Cambyses, König von Babylon</i> (Leipzig, 1890)
CBI	Walker, C. B. F., <i>Cuneiform Brick Inscriptions</i> (London, 1981)

- CHI *The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 2. The Median and Achaemenian Periods* (Cambridge, 1985)
- CII *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* (London)
- CIS *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (Paris)
- CLBT Thompson, R. C., *A Catalogue of the Late Babylonian Tablets in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford (London, 1927)
- CT *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. Parts 4, 14, 22, 44, 49, 51, 55-57* (London, 1866-1982)
- Cyr. Strassmaier, J. N., *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon* (Leipzig, 1890)
- Dar. Strassmaier, J. N., *Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon* (Leipzig, 1897)
- DNc Darius I, Naqsh-i Rostam inscription c in Kent, *Old Persian* (New Haven, 1953)
- EEMA Stolper, M. W., *Entrepreneurs and Empire: The Murashû Archive, the Murashû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia* (Leiden, 1985)
- EKBK Strassmaier, J. N., "Einige kleinere babylonische Keilschrifttexte aus dem Britischen Museum," *Actes du huitième congrès international des Orientalistes, tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania, deuxième partie, Section 1B* (Leiden, 1893, pp. 1-35)

Erm.	Tablets in the collection of the State Hermitage, St. Petersburg
EW	Hinz, W., and Koch, H., <i>Elamisches Wörterbuch</i> . AML, Ergänzungsband 17 (Berlin, 1987)
FB	<i>Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Forschungen und Berichte</i> (Berlin)
GCCI	Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions; Vol. I: Dougherty, R. P., <i>Archives from Erech, Time of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus</i> (New Haven, 1923); Vol. II: Dougherty, R. P., <i>Archives from Erech, Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods</i> (New Haven, 1933)
GGA	<i>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen</i> (Göttingen)
HSM	Tablets in the collections of the Harvard Semitic Museum
IBKU	Eilers, W., <i>Iranische Beamtennamen in der keilschriftlichen Überlieferung</i> , Part 1 (Leipzig, 1940)
IJJ	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i> (Leiden)
INB	Justi, F., <i>Iranisches Namenbuch</i> (Marburg, 1895)
IOS	<i>Israel Oriental Studies</i> (Tel Aviv)
IrAn	<i>Iranica Antiqua</i> (Leiden)



JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i> (Paris)
JANES	<i>The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i> (New York)
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> (Boston)
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i> (New Haven)
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> (Chicago)
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i> (Manchester)
KIA	Weissbach, F. H., <i>Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden</i> , VAB 3 (Leipzig, 1911)
LBFP	Nemet-Nejat, K. R., <i>Late Babylonian Field Plans in the British Museum</i> (Rome, 1982)
L. E.	Left edge
Lo. E.	Lower edge
MDP	<i>France, Délégation en Perse: Mémoires</i> (Paris)
Mélanges Dussaud	Weidner, E. F., "Jojachin, König von Juda, in babylonischen Keilschrifttexten," <i>Mélanges syriens offerts à R. Dussaud</i> , Vol. 2 (Paris, 1939, pp. 923-35)
Michigan Collection	Moore, E. W., <i>Neo-Babylonian Documents in the University of Michigan Collection</i> (Ann Arbor, 1939)

- N. A. B. U. *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utiles* (Paris)
- NALK Kwasman, Th., *Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum*. Studia Pohl: Series Major 14 (Rome, 1988)
- Nbn. Strassmaier, J. N., *Inscriptionen von Nabonidus, König von Babylon (555–538 v. Chr.)*, Leipzig, 1889
- NNB Tallqvist, K. L., *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch* (Helsingfors, 1891)
- NRV San Nicolò, M., and Ungnad, A., *Neubabylonische Rechts-und Verwaltungsurkunden*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1929–1937)
- OECT Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts, Vol. 10: McEwan, G. J. P., *Late Babylonian Texts in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1984)
- OLZ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (Leipzig)
- OnP Mayrhofer, M., *Onomastica Persepolitana* (Vienna, 1973)
- PBS The University of Pennsylvania. The Museum. Publications of the Babylonian Section, Vol. 1, part 2: Lutz, H. F., *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts* (Philadelphia, 1919); Vol. 2, part 1: Clay, A. T., *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Darius II* (Philadelphia, 1912)

PF	Hallock, R. T., <i>Persepolis Fortification Tablets</i> (Chicago, 1969)
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i> (London)
PTT	Cameron, G. G., <i>Persepolis Treasury Tablets</i> (Chicago, 1948)
R., rev.	Reverse
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie</i> (Paris)
R. E.	Right edge
ROMCT	Royal Ontario Museum Cuneiform Texts, Vol.2: McEwan, G. J. P., <i>The Late Babylonian Tablets in the Royal Ontario Museum</i> , (Toronto, 1982)
RP	<i>Records of the Past</i> (London)
SPA	Pope, A. E., <i>A Survey of Persian Art</i> (London and New York, 1938-39)
StIr	<i>Studia Iranica</i> (Paris)
TBER	Durand, J.-M., <i>Textes babyloniens d'époque récente. Recherche sur les grandes civilisations 6</i> (Paris, 1981)
TEBR	Joannès, F., <i>Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente</i> (Paris, 1982)

TCL	Musée de Louvre. Département des Antiquités orientales. Textes cunéiformes; Vol. 13: Contenau, G., <i>Contrats néo-babyloniens. Achéménides et Séleucides</i> (Paris, 1929)
TMH	Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities, Vol. 2/3: Krückmann, O., <i>Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungstexte</i> (Leipzig, 1933)
UCP	University of California. Publications in Semitic Philology, Vol. 9/2: Lutz, H. F., <i>Neo-Babylonian Administrative Documents from Erech</i> (Berkeley, 1927); Vol. 9/3: Lutz, H. F., <i>An Agreement between a Babylonian Feudal Lord and His Retainer in the Reign of Darius II</i> (Berkeley, 1928)
UE	Ur: Excavations, Vol. 9: Woolley, L., <i>The Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods</i> (London, 1962)
U. E.	Upper edge
UET	Ur: Excavations: Texts. Vol. 1: Gadd, C. J., Legrain, L., Smith, S., <i>Royal Inscriptions</i> (London, 1928); Vol. 4: Figulla, H. H., <i>Business documents of the New-Babylonian Period</i> (London, 1949)
UVB	<i>Vorläufiger Bericht über die ... in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen</i> (Berlin)
VAB	<i>Vorderasiatische Bibliothek</i> (Leipzig)

VAS	<i>Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen/Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin</i> (Leipzig), Vols. 3-4 (1907), 5-6 (1908), 20 (1978)
VAT	Siglum of the Berlin Museum
VDI	<i>Vestnik Drevnej Istorii</i> (Moscow)
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i> (Leiden)
XPh	Xerxes, Persepolis inscription <i>h</i> in Kent, <i>Old Persian</i> (New Haven, 1953)
YBC	Tablets in the Yale Babylonian Collection
YOS	Yale Oriental Series. Babylonian Texts; Vol. 3: Clay, A.T., <i>Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech</i> (New Haven, 1919); Vol. 6: Dougherty, R.P., <i>Records from Erech, Time of Nabonidus</i> (1920); Vol. 7: Tremayne, A., <i>Records from Erech, Time of Cyrus and Cambyses</i> (1925)
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i> (Leipzig/Berlin)
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> (Berlin)
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> (Leipzig/Wiesbaden)



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# Indices





## Passages Cited

ABC		3,7,1-2	99	30	128
p. 109-10, III	72	3,8,5	67	32	49, 95
p. 111, III	90	3,8,6	99	34	128
p. 114	133	3,16,3-4	99	39	25, 28, 41,
		3,21,1	64, 103		69, 93,96, 172
ABL		3, 21,3	64	39a	128
179	98			44	81
		BE 8		45	106, 143
AD		11	107	47	70
nos. 10 and 11	34	74	92	48	41, 57, 70,
p. 103	33	80	77		100, 118, 128,
		80	160		139, 172
ADD		87	104	50	55, 106,
122	111	107	54		143, 158
255	123	112	113	51	128
899, III	66	120	124	54	59, 125
		121	118	59	101, 130, 131
		144	85	60	101, 102
Amherst				64	128
253	28, 59			65	53
258	28, 35, 41, 46,	1	33, 34, 37	68	125, 126
	62, 121, 140	2	37	69	130, 131
285	84	4	36, 153	72	41
		6	35, 49	74	27, 49, 50, 51,
AnOr 8		7	14, 137		69, 86, 87, 89,
45	72, 74, 108	7a	81		90, 105, 112,
46	72, 74	8	81, 143		127, 138,162,
61	76	9	25, 173		163
67	108	11	54, 109, 128	75	48, 96, 97, 128
		12	25, 81	76	54, 63, 93, 112,
AP		13	38, 39		144, 166
17, 21, 27	34	14	38	81	125
		18	49, 51, 105	82	38, 39, 41,
Arrian, <i>Anabasis</i>		23	56		42, 125
3,8	166	28	158	83	42, 97, 121,
3,25	163	28a	49, 105, 113		133, 137

84	42, 97	67	80, 125, 129	Ezra 1:8	101
86a	85	69	128	5.3	4
88	166	70	54, 63, 144	5.6	4, 121
101	158	72	65, 84, 85	6.6, 13	4
102	68	75	143	8.17	165
106	46, 56, 57, 64, 94	76	46, 84, 85, 93, 110		
107	42	80	36-37, 80, 124	BIN	
	BE 10	81	132	I, 40	166
1	69, 143	82	37, 70	I, 169	77
2	53	84	26, 27, 79, 131, 132	II, 114	74
7	118, 130	85	26, 27, 79		
8	88, 134	86	82, 84, 124, 127	BM	
9	52, 132	87	125	30136	42
10	125, 126	88	36	30136	143
15	52, 53, 59, 60, 137, 158	89	36, 40, 41, 70, 81	52205	52, 56
18	89	90	80, 125	54091	99
20	88, 134	91	49, 72, 79	54205	104, 113, 127
22	89, 134	92	110	66810	103
24	89, 134	95	15, 38	78603	102
25	134	96	37, 115, 161, 166		
26	134	97	128	BOR	
32	89, 134	100	33, 55, 66, 84, 163	4, 132	135
33	112	101	7, 8, 42, 79, 157		
34	89, 134	103	110	Bowman	
35	89, 134	111	53, 162, 164	no. 33	40
36	89, 134	114	79, 86, 101		
37	89, 134, 144	117	119	BRM	
41	89, 134	118	79	1, 101	140, 141
42	89, 134	123	83	2, 56	6
43	118, 176	128	33, 79		
45	28, 89, 134	129	45, 53, 119	BV	
46	45, 89, 134	130	33, 37, 116	116	134
50	46, 56, 57, 94, 134, 138	131	33, 115		
53	59, 63	132	33	Camb.	
54	134, 158	137	116	13	18
56	125, 126			13	16
58	36, 94, 111			26	90
59	37			39	90
60	38, 39			85	16, 99, 176
61	81			96	77
64	25, 85			143	152
66	51, 90			203	90
		Bible		261	90
		Esther	137	292	18
		Ezekiel 8:1	176	316	58

[illegible]



Michigan Collection		PBS 2/1	83	80
8	164	1	84	36, 51, 94, 121
14	77	2	95	36, 80
26	152	4	97	51, 129
46	47, 37	5	98	110
89	20, 75,	6	98	110, 123
	123, 131, 132	7	100	72, 94, 122
89	155	8	101	40
		11	102	110
Nabonidus Chronicle		12	103	26, 27,
III:15	72	13	104	86, 89, 134
		14	105	51
NALK		15	107	79, 138, 141
p. 200, no. 164b		16	109	50, 130
	111	20	113	36
pp. 207f., no. 171		21	114	121
	123	25	116	71
Nbn.		27	116	27, 86, 87,
103	15	28	119	89, 90, 120, 127
		29	120	82, 116
		30	122	85
		31		27, 50, 51,
		32		82, 86, 87, 90,
OECT 10		34		105, 127, 163
123	92	37	128	38, 39, 128
151	62	38	130	83, 121
163	144		133	15, 36,
163	166	42		38, 39, 79
171	70, 82, 100	43	135	63
172	82	48	137	32, 63
182	166	50	138	86
183	82	51	139	87, 90, 127
189-212, 215, 217,		52	143	83
225, 228-232	37	59	144	33
190	171	60	145	33, 116
192	53, 120	63	146	33, 115, 116
357	38	64	147	33, 115, 116
		65	148	33
Oppert and Ménant		67	150	80
pp. 285-90	103	70	151	89
		71	152	89
PBS 1/2		72	153	134
87	85	75	156	89
		76	157	81
		77	158	51
			159	100, 125, 126

- |     |                 |                |                      |               |
|-----|-----------------|----------------|----------------------|---------------|
| 172 | 36, 94          | ROMCT 2        | 13, 203              | 34            |
| 173 | 131, 138        | 4              | 13, 223              | 142           |
| 176 | 89              | 23-24          | 13, 203              | 37            |
| 179 | 89              | 27             |                      |               |
| 180 | 89, 134         | 35             | TEBR                 |               |
| 185 | 42, 89, 134     | 36             | 89                   | 77            |
| 189 | 80              | 48             | 120                  | 127           |
| 191 | 32              | 61             |                      |               |
| 192 | 46, 51, 52,     |                | Theophrastus         |               |
|     | 56, 57, 63, 80, | Sayce          | <i>De historia</i>   |               |
|     | 94, 125         | p. 279         | <i>plantorum</i>     |               |
| 193 | 36, 85, 94      |                | 2,6,7                | 64            |
| 195 | 166             | Scheil 1921    |                      |               |
| 198 | 9               | p. 32, no. 22  | Thompson             |               |
| 201 | 26, 27, 86      |                | pp. 80ff., pls. 20f. | 95            |
| 202 | 15              | Schott         |                      |               |
| 205 | 36              | pl. 31         | TMH 2/3              |               |
| 206 | 117             |                | 29                   | 69, 143       |
| 207 | 85              | Stigers        | 38                   | 82            |
| 211 | 143             | no. 22         | 107                  | 42            |
| 217 | 70              | no. 43         | 142                  | 120, 143      |
| 224 | 79              | no. 51         | 143                  | 106, 143      |
| 226 | 66, 103         | no. 41         | 144                  | 41, 57, 70,   |
|     |                 | no. 22         |                      | 100, 118, 139 |
|     |                 | no. 28         | 147                  | 9, 13,        |
|     |                 | Strassmaier,   |                      | 63, 68, 100   |
|     |                 | p. 149, no. 10 | 148                  | 45, 119, 172  |
|     |                 | p. 151, no. 13 | 171                  | 138           |
|     |                 |                | 173-77               | 4             |
|     |                 |                | 180                  | 97            |
|     |                 |                | 181                  | 118, 130      |
|     |                 |                | 184                  | 84, 88, 167   |
|     |                 |                | 185                  | 88, 89, 115   |
|     |                 |                | 186                  | 110           |
|     |                 |                | 187                  | 66, 103, 124  |
|     |                 |                | 189                  | 83, 124,      |
|     |                 |                |                      | 128, 138, 161 |
|     |                 |                | 190                  | 32, 63,       |
|     |                 |                |                      | 79, 80, 165   |
|     |                 |                | 191                  | 63, 165       |
|     |                 |                | 201                  | 137           |
|     |                 |                | 202                  | 42, 96-97     |
|     |                 |                | 204                  | 30, 71, 87    |
|     |                 |                | 237                  | 90            |
- 
- |                   |     |  |  |  |
|-------------------|-----|--|--|--|
| Pinches           |     |  |  |  |
| 1890, p. 104      | 165 |  |  |  |
| 1891/1892, p. 134 |     |  |  |  |
| 7, 29, 43, 47,    |     |  |  |  |
| 48, 59, 62, 66,   |     |  |  |  |
| 83, 117, 134      |     |  |  |  |
| 1916, p. 29       | 75  |  |  |  |
- 
- |               |    |        |     |  |
|---------------|----|--------|-----|--|
| Plutarch      |    |        |     |  |
| Alexander, 32 | 99 | TBER   |     |  |
| 39            | 64 | pl. 89 | 127 |  |
| Artaxerxes 27 | 29 |        |     |  |
- 
- |         |     |         |              |  |
|---------|-----|---------|--------------|--|
| Porter  |     | TCL     |              |  |
| pl. 77g | 103 | 12, 114 | 160          |  |
|         |     | 13, 142 | 76           |  |
|         |     | 13, 150 | 75           |  |
|         |     | 13, 152 | 75           |  |
|         |     | 13, 153 | 92           |  |
|         |     | 13, 168 | 74           |  |
|         |     | 13, 183 | 120          |  |
|         |     | 13, 187 | 133          |  |
|         |     | 13, 193 | 8, 47, 48,   |  |
|         |     |         | 50, 131, 136 |  |
- 
- |                      |  |  |  |  |
|----------------------|--|--|--|--|
| PTT                  |  |  |  |  |
| 85 86, 113, 130, 150 |  |  |  |  |
- 
- |     |     |  |  |  |
|-----|-----|--|--|--|
| RCT |     |  |  |  |
| 9   | 131 |  |  |  |

UCP 9/2	152	4, 25	Weidner	
	160	156	p. 3	35
38 67, 68, 164	191	31		
39 67, 68, 164	191	158	Xenophon	
	193	82	<i>Anabasis</i>	
UET			1,4,10	6
1, 194 95	VAS 5		1,7,11	129
4, 1 100, 129	42	92	1,8,9	129
4, 2 100	52	16	1,4,9)	116
4, 44 18, 35, 141	101	109	1,7,11	31
4, 57 18	101	172	2,1,7	129
4, 66 122	118	57, 135	2,3,17	129
4, 67 62	128	46	2,4,27	116
4, 99 63	129	92	3,4,7	154
4, 101 42	146	152	3,4,10	154
4, 106 18			7,8,25	117
4, 109 18	VAS 6		1,7,11	79
4, 115 82	30	140		
4, 117 116	128	43, 134	<i>Cyropaedia</i>	
	171	27	4,6,1-7	73
Unger,	171	157	4,6,2	72
no. 57 135	185	28	7,5,8ff.	72
	187	107		
Ungnad 1960	194	105		
p. 78, no. 28 59	226	94	YBC	
p. 79 46, 62,	244	99	11562	88
84, 121, 140	252	145	11607	48, 137
pp. 79ff 41	252	156		
	302	62	YOS 3	
VAS 3	307	139-40	66	166
55 16, 95, 98	323	40	106	77, 78
55 149, 156			111	77
71 92			133	20
138/139 48, 54, 166	49	124, 141		
159 43, 106, 121	49	162	YOS 6	
190 133			169	54, 154
191 4			231	54, 154
198 150	VAT		237	160
194 103	15607	37		
	15609	114		
	15610	99	YOS 7	
VAS 4	15612	32	30	153
54 18	15617	141	37	95
87/86 111	15620	130, 135	40	95
87/88 157	15626	145	42	95
126 16	15633	98	56	77

70	75, 78	149	63, 85	177	103, 104
92	77	154	145, 164	178	72, 74
99	65	160	72, 76	192	103, 104
128	76, 108	168	75		
137	103	172	75		

## Old Iranian Names

- |                    |                     |                             |
|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| *Ādāka- 26         | *Baga-daina- 53     | Dādarši- 68                 |
| *Ahura-dāta- 117   | *Baga-dāta- 50      | *Dahičaka- 68               |
| *Ama-dāta- 136     | *Bagaina- 54        | *Dahyāum-iša- 70            |
| *Āpaiča- 30        | *Baga-isa- 63       | *Dāmi-mazdah-? 68           |
| *Āpiča- 30         | *Baga-ka 107        | *Dāraya-farna- 69           |
| *Aramati- 32       | *Baga-kāma- 55      | Dārayava <sup>h</sup> u- 69 |
| *Arašta- 30        | *Baga-masti-? 55    | *Darmaka- 69                |
| *Arbaka- 31        | *Bagam-iša- 57      | *Dāta-farna- 67             |
| *Arb/va-Mithra- 30 | *Baga-Miθra- 55     | *Davnatāna- 71              |
| *Arba-raiva- 30    | *Baga-pāna- 58      | *Dizaka- 70                 |
| *Arba-θaiva- 31    | *Baga-pāta- 59      | *Dūra-miždva- 71            |
| *Arbauka- 31       | *Baga-rapa- 60      |                             |
| *Arda-isa 31       | *Baga-rauča- 60     | Farnaini- 110               |
| *Aryaina- 31       | *Baga-srava- 60     | *Farnaka- 108               |
| *Arya-upama- 32    | *Baga-stāna- 64     | *Farna-uxti- 109            |
| *Aryavāza- 82      | *Bagāvanta- 65      | *Farna-zāta- 110            |
| *Aryazana- 81      | *Bagavasta- 55      | *Fradā-farnah- 86           |
| *Aspa-bara- 46     | *Baga-vīra- 56      | *Fradāta- 86, 114           |
| *Aspa-čana- 46     | *Baga-viša- 57      | *Fra-gauša- 108             |
| *Aspa-dasta- 46    | *Bagāya- 65         | *Frasrūta- 111              |
| *Aspa-janta- 47    | *Bagayāza- 54       | *Fratama- 111               |
| *Aspam-iša- 46     | *Bagazušta- 62      | *Frata-sava- 111            |
| *Asta-pāna- 47     | *Bāna-daiva- 65     | *Fravarya- 112              |
| *Astašaibarva- 47  | *Bara-gau- 108      |                             |
| *Ātata-marga- 49   | *Baraina- 65        | Gaubaruva- 72               |
| *Ati-kāma- 48      | Br̥diya- 66         | *Gauka- 80                  |
| *Āθiya-baga- 47    | *Br̥za- 66          | *Gau-sūra- 80               |
| *Āθiya-višta- 48   | *Br̥zya- 66         | *Girafarnah- (?) 72         |
| *Aṭṭ-bānu- 47, 49  |                     | *Gundaka- 80                |
| *Āṭṭ-čiθra- 47     |                     |                             |
| *Āṭṭ-pāta- 49      | *Čaita- 122         | *Hadabaga- 25, 173          |
| *Āṭṭ-rāta- 48      | *Čašaina-? 120      | *Ham-bāzu- 81               |
| *Aṭṭ-vānu- 47, 49  | *Čiθra-farnah 129   | *Hanči- 29                  |
|                    | *Čiθraina- 123      | *Hanšya- 29                 |
| *Baga-aiša- 63     | *Čiθran-tauxma- 129 |                             |



- \*Han-tuhma- 29
- \*Hauma-dāta- 136
- \*Haxābānu- 26
- \*Haxāmaniš- 26
- \*Hu-baxθra- 132
- \*Hu-daina- 131
- \*Hu-dāta- 131
- \*Hu-dātāna- 131
- \*Hu-kirya- 132
- \*Hu-mata- 83
- \*Hu-nigāma-, 83
- \*Hu-pāra- 138
- \*Hu-rāna- 138
- \*Huvā-frya- 134
- \*Hu-vāra-vīra- 135
- \*Hu-varta-aspa- 135
- \*Hu-vastāna- 135
- \*Hu-vaxθra- 133
- \*Hu-vrjana- 135
- \*Hva-gāma- 83
- \*Jāmāspa- 142
- 
- \*Jīvaka- 144
- 
- \*Kaika- 94
- \*Kākā 89
- \*Kāmaka- 90
- Kambūjija- 90
- \*Kāra-dāra- 93
- \*Kārataka 94
- \*Kaufaiča- 94
- \*Kavi-usadan- 96
- \*Kṛta-tauma- 94
- Kūru- 94
- 
- \*Mad-bānu- 96
- \*Manuš-tānu- 98
- Marduniya- 98
- Mazda- 102
- \*Mazda-aiša- 102
- \*Mazda-bigna- 102
- \*Mazda-isa- 99
- \*Mazdaka- 99
- \*Mazdāyā 99
- Mazda-yasna- 100
- \*Mazda-yazna- 100
- 
- \*Miθra- 100
- \*Miθra-brzāna- 100
- \*Miθra-dāta- 100
- \*Miθraina- 101
- \*Miθra-rāta- 101
- 
- \*Nāba-auga- 104
- \*Nāba-bauga- 104
- \*Nabābrzāna- 103
- \*Nafaina- 105
- \*Naiba-vrda- 105
- \*Narya-bigna- 106
- \*Naryāspa- 105
- \*Nava-gaza- 106
- \*Navaina- 107
- \*Ni-nāka- 106
- 
- \*Padaka- 107
- \*Pāpaka- 108
- \*Pari-saka- 110
- \*Parnu- 110
- \*Paru-hāta- 111
- \*Parušyāti- 116
- \*Pati-izā- 112
- \*Patināša- 113
- \*Patištāna- 112
- \*Paθra-pārsa- 66
- \*Paθy-aiša- 112
- \*Paviya- 107
- \*Pišiya- 114
- \*Piθriya- 114
- \*Pṛšanta-dāta- 114-15
- 
- \*Ragvaina- 116
- \*Rāta-xšaθra- 117
- \*Raudāta- 117
- \*Rauxšna-dāta- 118
- \*Rauxšna-pāta- 118
- \*Razma-arva- 117
- \*Razma-hu-arga- 117
- \*Rbu- 31
- \*Ršāma- 33
- \*Ršita- 32
- \*Ršayaka- 35
- \*Rta- 35, 36, 45
- \*Rta-ama- 40
- 
- \*Rta-ba- 35
- \*Rta-bānuš 35
- \*Rtabin- 35
- \*Rta-farna- 40
- \*Rta-humanah- 38
- \*Rtam-bara- 38
- \*Rta-miça- 40
- \*Rta-misa- 40
- \*Rta-nāfa- 40
- \*Rta-pāta- 41
- \*Rta-raiva- 41, 43
- \*Rta-rauča- 44
- \*Rta-sūra- 44
- \*Rta-š(y)āta- 44
- \*Rta-upama- 45
- \*Rta-viša- 40
- \*Rtaxšaça- 37
- \*Rta-xšara- 36
- \*Rvaina- 45
- 
- \*Sakita- 119
- \*Sata-vaia 144
- \*Skauθika-, 87
- \*Skudrva- 87
- \*Spa-uda- 87
- Spitāma- 88
- \*Srauma- 120
- \*Sravanta- 120
- \*Stūna- 119
- \*Suta- 120
- \*Šyā-brza-, \*Šyā-brzāna-? 122
- \*Šyātahma- 121
- \*Šyātaina- 120, 122
- \*Šyāti- 121
- \*Šyāti-brzana- 121
- \*Syāva- 119
- \*Šyā-zāta- 123
- 
- \*Tāta- 124
- \*Tati- 124
- \*Tavāniya- 130
- \*Taviya- 129
- \*Tirā- 125
- \*Tirī- 125
- \*Tiri-bāzu- 127

- |                     |                    |                  |
|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| *Tiri-dāta 127, 171 | *Vahya-gāma- 132   | *Vrzana- 135     |
| *Tiri-farnah- 128   | *Vahyas-para 139   |                  |
| *Tiri-kāma- 125     | *Vanata- 137       | *Xšaita- 27      |
| *Tiryāma- 128       | *Vārāna- 138       | *Xšaya- 86       |
| *Tiryā-vahu- 126    | *Varāza- 138       | Xšayāršan- 82    |
| *Tuvāna- 130        | *Varta-aspa- 135   | *Xvar-dāta- 134  |
| *Tuvāniya- 129      | *Vauka 133         | *Xvaršadāta- 84  |
|                     | *Vidāta- 100       | *Xvar-vanaθa- 83 |
| *Us/zma- 139        | Vidarna-, 130      | *Xvar-zušta- 84  |
| Utana- 84           | *Vidma- 130        |                  |
| *Uxda-farnah- 131   | Vindafarnah- 103,  | *Yama- 85        |
|                     | 136, 142           |                  |
| *Vahī-bara- 136     | *Vispa-iša- 88     | *Zangāna- 143    |
| *Vahuka- 133        | *Vispa-parva 139   | *Zantuvaisa- 144 |
| *Vahu-mana- 132     | *Vispa-tarva- 87   | *Zānuka- 143     |
| *Va(h)uš, 133       | *Višta-baujana- 88 | *Zāta-vahya- 143 |
| *Vahya- 132         | *Vištāna- 139      |                  |
| *Vahya-bara- 132    | *Vīdiya- 138       |                  |

## Old Iranian Toponyms

- |                  |                     |                     |
|------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Abastānu 85, 105 | Handīdu, a city 77  | 134, 151, 157       |
| *Abistāna- 85    | Harāiva 163, 165    | (H)uvādaičaya 151   |
| *Abi-stāta- 159  | Harōiva- 163        | Parsumaš 64, 95,    |
| Aḥšānu 158       | Ḥindu- 40           | 145, 157            |
| Arazu 45         | Ḥumadēšu 7, 40, 43, | *Šyātaina- 122      |
| *Āvahana- 76     | 44, 46, 47, 48, 55, | Varāza-maiθana- 138 |
| Bigni 25         | 59, 62, 66, 83, 93, | *Xšāna- 158         |
| Ḥambaru 81       | 106, 112, 117,      |                     |

## Old Iranian Words

- |                   |                   |                    |
|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| *abistāna- 85     | aram.matay- 32    | bār- 12            |
| adš- 25           | arštibara- 46, 94 | būmi- 67           |
| agurnu- 169       | *arva- 45         | daiva 167-68       |
| -aina- 66         | *aryazana- 81     | *dantu- 144        |
| -aiča 20, 94, 102 | asa- 17           | *daši-, *dašya- 50 |
| āp- 30            | asp-ast 16        | -dāta) 112         |
| apadana- 20       | aspa- 16, 46      | -dāta 50, 82, 112  |
| *arazapanta- 7    | *āθiya- 48        | *dātabara- 42      |
| *arda-isa 31      | āq- 49            | *farnah- 108       |
| arəd- 31          | baga- 50, 107     | *fras- 9           |

*frasakara- 9	*marza- 98	*upa-jāta 11
*frastavan 114	*masan- 99	*uṣabāri- 60
*gaiθāpati- 7, 8	-mižda- 70	uša- 60
*gamb- 71	*mṛdva- 98	*uštā- 60
*ganza-bara- 61	*nafta- 105	*uzbarya 14
gaosūra 80	*napāt- 105	*uzūta-bara- 64
*gau-bara- 108	*paridaida- 20	vaisa- 144
*gaz(a) 106	-parna 108	*vaisapuθra- 158
*hamāra-kara- 36	pātāl 31	*vardana-pāti 6
*hambāra- 81	*pati- 7, 113	*varzana-pati- 66
*handaisa- 18	*patifrāsa- 9	*vasṭrabara 52
*haθya-pā-ka- 47	*pati-arda- 31	*vi-sūta-bara- 64
humata- 83	pāθra- 66	*vīda- 100
(h)vārazmu- 67	*piθfā-baga- 38	*vīsa-puθra- 26
-iba- 85	pitwā- 38	*vīda-frāsa- 10
-ita 119	raod- 117	*vistar-bara- 7, 52
-iča- 30	*rāta- 117	višta- 139
jiva- 144	sak- 119	*vṛta- 150
*kačaka-, *kančaka- 93	*šam- 120	xvama 108
*kaufa- 94	*sparda-, 87	xšačapāvan- 6
*kṛka- 93	sraoman- 120	xšaēta 27
*kṛsaka- 93	stāna- 85	*zānu- 143
magu- 166	*š(y)āta- 121, 122	zantu- 144
*maiša- 144	*tīrī- 161	
	*tux- 29	

## Babylonian Equivalents of Iranian Words

ahšad(a)rapannu 6, 49	daš(š)ia 35, 49, 79	Ḥurzimāja 164
ammār akal 36	dāta 9, 42, 134	Indumāja 165
Appadān 169	dātabara 9, 41-42	ipraskku 9
ap-padatum 134	Gandaruitu 165	kalamari 11
arazapanata 7	Gandarasunu 165	karballatu 169
ard/tabu 58, 129, 169	ganzabara ša bīt ilāni 62	mitiprasu 9-10, 79
Arumāja 52, 53, 127, 162-63	ganzabaru 7, 60, 61, 62	magušu 144, 166
aspastu 16	gardu 6, 17, 38, 54, 166	padi 7, 57
aspastūa, 80	dargiš 169	parastamu 114, 118, 145
aspātu 16	gardupatu 31	Parsāja 157
aštābarru 93	Gimirāja 159, 160-62	pasa'du 16
Bahtaru'iti 165	gitepatu 7, 8	parparāsu 9. See also mitiprasu
bāru 11-12	ḥamāarakara- 8, 36	pit(i)pabaga 38
dargiš 169		rabarabarānu 143
		umarzanapāta 6, 66

umasupitrû 158	ustarbaru 7, 52, 86,	uštiāmu 7
uppadētu 7, 134	104, 106, 111,	uzbaru 14, 28, 33,
uppajātu 11	113, 116, 119,	80
uštābari 59-60	123, 127	ūzuuttābarra 64

## Other Akkadian Words

abarakku 83, 102	mār banê 105, 175	rab-kāširi 7, 60, 61,
ardu 27, 51, 71, 121	mār bīti 26, 30, 32,	62
baktu 65	34	rab tamkāri 43
banaikānu 68	mār šarri 38	rēš šarri 54, 59, 100,
bar baytā 26, 34	mār šipri 68	122, 129, 149
bēl peḥāti 5	mārāt šarri 117	riqis qabli 16, 18
bēl ṭēmi 123	mašak tilli 159	šāb šarri 71
bīt as-pa-tum 16	mašennu 38	ša muḥḥi dātu 43
bīt killi 84	mudalliḥu 102	ša muḥḥi ginē 48
bīt mār šarri 15	mukīl appāti 150	šākin ṭēmi 5
bīt qašti 18	paqdu 5, 31, 36, 53,	šaknu 5, 39, 56, 127,
dēkū 97	68, 115	165
eqluu ša šarri 13	paqdu ša bīt ilān 135	šaknu ša māti 5
ḥapru 15, 17-18, 39,	paqdu ša māt 5	šandabakku, title of
69, 86, 87, 88,	pardesu 20	governors of
97, 102, 103, 105,	peḥāt Bābili 6	Nippur 85
112, 128, 15	pēḥātu 5	sepīru 38
ḥīṭu 74	puḥru 175	šušānu 17, 36, 50,
ilku 15, 39, 48, 80	puḥur 176	71, 72, 85, 97,
ina muḥḥi dāti 134	qallu 45	103, 110, 125,
kāru 77	rab bīri 56	137, 153
kāširu- 62	rab bīti 53, 61, 64,	ṭabihē 15
kizū 103	106, 109	zēru ša šarri 13
magullaja 132	rab dūri 56	
māhišē 36	rab kadāni 164	

## Words in Other Languages

Arabic		HMRKR	36	Egyptian	
jihbidh	8	HRZMY'	67	Bś	66
		MR'	34		
Aramaic		Armenian		Elamite	
deṭābrā	41			karamaraš	11
GZBR	61, 101	pet	7	kurtāš	151

partetaš 20		Middle Persian		Parthian	
pīr-ra-iš-šā-ik-qa 9		dādwar 41	+1	d'ūbr 41	
daddabarra/datubara 41		dāywar 89		dtbr 38	
gi-sa-bat-ti-iš 7		kāk		ptp' 72	
				ry-	
		Old Indian			
Greek		rdha- 31		Sogdian	
paradeisos 20		takš- 29		b'n 67	
sarapēs 6				bysh (=Bēs) 67	
		Ossetic		ymb-, ymp- 71	
Man.-Parthian		Äxsar 36		pč'z- 106	
frgwš- 108					

## People

- Abdi-Isis, a *daššiia* 49  
 Abigni, f. of Numingu 30, 107  
 Achaemenes, a prince 26, 131  
 Adabaga', son of Iddin-Nabû 172  
 —/Hadbaga', son of Mizdaešu, a judge 9, 81, 102, 172-73  
 Aḥabanuš, Aḥiabanuš 26  
 Aḥiamanuš, a prince 26, 27, 86, 158  
 Aḥranuš 27, 50  
 Aḥšanu 158  
 Aḥšeti, s. of Baga-pāta 28, 59  
 —, f. of Bēl-bulissu 28  
 —, s. of Kamakka 27-28, 90, 157  
 Aḥušunu, a Saka 172  
 Aḥu'u, s. of Zimakka' 144  
 Aišaridar, a Persian official 28  
 Aldašu, s. of Altenna 149  
 Alexander the Great 64, 65, 99, 103  
 Alogunē, a concubine of Artaxerxes I 28  
 Altenna, f. of Aldašu 149  
 Amestris, mother of Artaxerxes I 28, 29, 158  
 Amisiri', a Persian noblewoman 28, 41, 96  
 Amisirē, a Persian princess 158  
 Ammadātu 29, 136. See also Ummadātu  
 Ammazaja, an expensive slave woman 141  
 Amunutapunaḥti 59  
 Amurkiki, s. of Tiḥupardesi was the foreman of a šušānu group, 125  
 Anbaduš 81  
 Andia, concubine of Artaxerxes I 58  
 Anšiiia, a Persian at Nebuchanezzar's court 29, 156  
 Antumma', s. of Barzu 29, 66  
 Anu-šar-ušur (probably the governor of Uruk) 76  
 Aplā, s. of Bēl-ētir 63  
 —, f. of Enlil-šum-iddin 105  
 —, s. of Ḥarmahī 143  
 —, s. of Ḥarrimaz, an Areian 82  
 Appiešu, f. of Nabû-Balāssu-iqbi 29  
 Aqūbu, s. of Dabama' 67  
 Arad-Gula, a slave of Siṭūnu 119  
 Araḥa. See Nebuchadnezzar IV  
 Araltu 30  
 Arbakēs, a general 31

- Arbakka, slave of Tattannu 31  
 Arbaku 31  
 Arbamiḥri, s. of Partasamu 30, 111  
 Arbareme, a prince 30, 71, 87  
 Arbarios, the "chief of horsemen" 30  
 Arbarta, a fief holder 30  
 Arbatema', a Persian 31, 158  
 Arbuka', s. of Baga-ḥaja 31, 53  
 Arbukku, foreman at the royal estates 31  
 Ardēsi, woman landowner 31, 35  
 Ar'ennu, employer of a Babylonian manager 31  
 Ariāpanu, employer of a Babylonian manager 32  
 Ariaupamma 32  
 Ariayarshan, an official in Egypt 127  
 'RNTBW 35  
 Arramati, a slave-owner in Tabānu 32  
 Arrišittu, a prince 32, 63, 80, 158  
 Aršāma, Arsames, satrap of Egypt 33-35, 51, 88, 116, 142, 158, 163  
 Aršekka', steward of Ardēsi 31, 35  
 Arsites 32  
 —, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia 102  
 'RŠM, satrap of Egypt 33  
 Arta[...] 44  
 Artā 35, 43  
 Artabanos 35  
 Artabanu, Persian official 35  
 Artabarri 172  
 Artabi 35  
 Artadāta 35  
 Artafemēs 40  
 Artagatu, a slave woman 35, 44  
 Artahšar, an official 36, 94  
 Artahšassu, "Artaxerxes" 37  
 Artakšatsu 133  
 Artahumanu, a woman 38  
 Artamabar, s. of Sin-ēṭir 39  
 Artamas 45  
 Artambar, s. of Bel-ibni 39  
 —, s. of Sin-ēṭir 39-40  
 —, chief steward 38-39  
 Artamissa, s. of Bagakamu 40, 55  
 Artamišu 40  
 Artamma', a witness 40  
 Artanapa', a fief holder 40  
 Artaparna', a land owner 40-41  
 —, s. of Ḥambazu' 41, 81  
 Artapati, an official 41  
 Artarios, satrap of Babylonia 35, 41, 43, 97  
 Artarus. See Artarušu  
 Artarušu, merchant in Ḥumadēšu 43  
 Artarēme/u, f. of Manuštānu, a prince 41, 43, 96-97, 118, 158  
 Artāšata 44  
 Artasurtu, a slave of Gubāru 44, 79  
 Artasyras 44  
 Artaumanu, a landowner 44, 45  
 Artaxerxes I x, 37, 82, 97, 102; wives of 158  
 Artaxerxes II 12, 15, 37, 79, 133  
 Artaxerxes III 37, 64, 133. See also Umakuš  
 'RTDT, f. of PRŠNDT 114  
 Artembarēs 38  
 Artim, wet nurse of a princess 44-45, 117, 120  
 [']RTM. See Artimu  
 'RTMTR 40  
 Artoxarēs, Paphlagonian eunuch 36  
 Artuḥumana', owner of Artūpam 44, 45  
 Artūpam, slave of Artuḥumana' 45  
 Arturū[...], s. of Batraparsa', f. of Parnuma' 45, 110

- Arumaina', father of Nabû-mušē-  
tiq-uudē 45
- Arza' 45
- Asapašin, owner of a slave 45
- Aspa', owner of a slave 46
- Aspubar, a lance bearer 46
- Aspadas 46
- Aspa'dasta, f. of Bagamīri 46, 56
- Aspamiššu, an official 46, 139
- Ašpazanda', an Areian 47
- Aspumetana', s. of Asputatika  
43, 46, 47, 106, 117
- Asputatika 46, 47
- Astapanu, a fief holder 47
- Astušebarma', s. of Ḫabarda' 47,  
81
- Atarbanuš, s. of Bagadāta, judge  
47, 50, 136
- Ataršitra', a slave 29, 47
- Atēamuštu, an official 48
- Atebaga', f. of Ispaudu 47, 87
- Ateiana', s. of Maqamqam 48
- Atikam, son of Abiabu 48
- Atimušti, s. of Umurū 48, 137
- Atrata' 48
- Atrumanu', f. of Napiani, an  
Areian 49, 105
- Attaluš, s. of Bagadāta 49, 51
- Attamarga' a land owner 49, 96
- Attarapāta, a slave of Artā 35, 49
- Bag-a-[...], a landowner 63
- Baga 171
- Bagā, son of Aḫratuš, an Areian  
50, 163
- Bagabigna, f. of Tattannu 50
- Bagabīnaši, d. of Puḫḫuru 50
- Bagadāta (name) 50-53, 171
- Bagadāta, f. of Bēl-ēreš 52
- , f. of Ḫarmaḫi 51
- , Babylonian in Manāḫu 30,  
51
- , f. of Nanā-iddin 53
- , f. of Bēl-nādin 52-53
- , "DINGIR.MEŠ-da-a-ta" 50-  
51, 155
- , a temple slave 51
- Bagadāta, f. of Bagazuštu 51, 63
- , s. of Kakā, an Areian 51, 90,  
127, 163
- Bagadātu, f. of Atarbanuš 47, Ba-  
ga-ta-[...]-ḫu-šu 62
- , a fief holder 51, 111
- , slave of Ispitama' 34, 88
- Bagadenu, an Elamite 53
- \*Bagafarnes 65
- Baga-ḫaja, f. of Arbuka' 31, 53
- , f. of Šammū 120
- Bagaina, s. of Atrata' 48, 54
- , a judge 54
- , an Iranian 165
- , f. of Nidintu-Enlil 54, 172
- Baga'ina, s. of Zimakka' 54, 144
- Bagajāzu, s. of Pāpaku 54, 107,  
109
- , f. of Tattannu 55, 163
- Bagakamu, f. of Artamissa 55
- Bagakanna. See Pagakanna
- Bagamasta 55
- Bagamiḫi, a fief holder 56
- , an *ustarbaru* official 52, 55
- Bagamīri, s. of Aspa'dasta 46, 56
- , an official 56
- Baga'mīri, garrison commander  
in Babylon 56, 104, 127
- , s. of Miṭradāta 57, 100, 118,  
172
- Bagamma', f. of [...]ḫa-ka-a' 55,  
145
- Bagapā', governor of Babylon  
57, 58, 141
- Bagapā'. See also Baga-pāna
- Baga'pada. See Bagapāta
- Bagapaios, a son of Artaxerxes I  
58
- Bagapāna, a land owner 58, 169
- Bagapānu, f. of Tīrakam 59, 125
- Baga-pāta (q.v.), son of Nabû-zēr-  
iqīša 29
- Bagapāta, f. of Aḫšēti 59
- , f. of Bagazuštu 59, 165
- , s. of Nabû-zēr-iddin 59

- , s. of Pirmizdi 59, 101, 114  
 Bagapatēs in Greek sources 59  
 Bagaphanes, treasurer of Babylon 59  
 Bagarapa, an uštabari official 59  
 —, s. of Unat 60, 137  
 Bagaruš, owner of a house 60  
 Baga'saru, unidentified 62  
 —, the royal treasurer in Babylon 60, 114  
 Bagasaru, a land owner 62  
 Baga'siru, s. of Hūmagammu 62, 83  
 Bagaurū 62  
 Bagavira 56  
 Bagazuštu, a "foreman of the Indians," 54  
 —, an official 62-63  
 —, s. of Bagadāta 51, 63, 165  
 —, s. of Bagapāta, foreman of the Indians 59, 63  
 —, f. of Mitradāta 63, 100  
 —, s. of Parurē, 63, 112, 165  
 Bagenna'. See Bagaina.  
 Bagēsu, a land owner 63, 85  
 Bagēšu, an interest collector 63-64  
 —, a land owner 64, 80  
 —, s. of Kēprada'/Dēprada', an Areian 64, 94  
 Bagi'āzu, official at Eanna temple 54, 154  
 Bagiešu 56  
 Bagiiānu 64  
 Bagindu, an Elamite 157  
 —, a Persian 29, 64, 156, 157  
 Bagistanes, a nobleman 64  
 Bagišu. See Bagēšu  
 Bagoas, a eunuch 64  
 Bagophanes, Persian commander in Babylon 65  
 Bagundu, s. of A-mur-re-e-a 65  
 Balāpu 108  
 —, s. of Tirijama 128  
 Bānade'u, f. of Iamma 65, 84  
 Bardiya. See Barziya, Gaumata the Magian  
 Barēna', a foreman of immigrants 65  
 Bāriki, s. of Hurušadātu, an Areian 84  
 Barikia, s. of Isparda, manager of Parnuš 87, 110  
 —, s. of Rušunpātu 118  
 Bariki-ili, the agent of Iamma 85  
 Barragušu. See Paragušu  
 Baruqa, a slave of Nabarzanu 103  
 Barzienna, a high official 65  
 Barziya 66. See also Gaumata the Magian  
 Barzu, f. of Antumma' 66  
 Batraparsa', s. of [Pi?-ri-ia ...] 45, 66, 114  
 Bēl-[...], f. of Mitrā 100  
 Bēl-ab-ušur, a debtor 48  
 —, bailiff of Umartaspa' 135  
 Bēl-aḥḥē-erība, a witness 153  
 Bēl-aḥḥiāni, a slave of Šataḥma' 122  
 Bēl-aḥ-iddin, s. of Rušunpātu 118  
 —, f. of Tiriparna' 128  
 Bēl-apla-ušur, s. of Umaḥḥarē 133  
 Bēl-bulissu, *iprasakku* in the royal household 9  
 Bēl-ēpuš, f. of Šatabarzana 121  
 Bēl-ēreš, son of Bagadāta 52  
 Belesys 6  
 Bēl-ēteranni, slave of Tattannu, 4  
 Bēl-ētir, f. of Aplā 63  
 —, a courier 151  
 —, a slave of Bagasaru 60  
 Bēi-ibni, slave of Parnuš 110  
 —, s. of Šezata', an Areian 123  
 Bēl-iddin, slave of Arrišittum 33  
 —, f. of Hīdāta' 82  
 —, son of Iṭti-Marduk-balāpu 18  
 Bēl-iqīša, an Elamite scribe 150  
 Bēl-iqšur, seller of a donkey 109  
 Bēl-ittannu, slave of Arrišittum 32



- , s. of Ba-ga-tar-[...]-ḫu-šu 62
- , s. of Ištabbuzana', an Arian 89, 172
- , a lessor 127
- , an official 56
- , a scribe-interpreter 41
- , nephew of Udarma' 130
- , an *ustarbaru* official 52
- , s. of Zataṁē, an assistant overseer 143
- Bēl-lumur, temple administrator 135
- Bēl-nādin, f. of Bagadāta 52
- , s. of Bagadāta 53, 164
- Bēl-tabni-ušur, son of Sūqaja 171
- Bēl-ušuršu, a slave of Artāšāta 44
- , slave of Miṭrāta 101
- Bēlšunu, a fief holder 56
- , governor of Babylon. 6, 49, 88
- , a judge 9, 88, 134
- , s. of Kēprada'/Dēprada' 94
- Bessos 66
- BGPT. See Bagapāta
- Biesu, f. of Munnaṁ 66, 103
- Birakka', f. of Šeta' 67, 122
- Bišā, son of Ḥašdaja, a petty official 38
- Būmasa, a Median 67, 156
- Bunene-ibni, son of Bēl-na'id 155
- Buparēs, satrap of Babylonia 67
- Cambyses II 16, 17, 20, 77, 90-93, 109, 158; religious policies 168
- Cardascia, G. x
- Cyaxares 160
- Cyrus (name) 94
- Cyrus I 95
- Cyrus II 95, 101, 156, 162; capture of Babylon 72; attempts to reestablish normalcy in Babylonia 3; religious policies 168; Babylonian cylinder of 90, 95; date of end of reign 92-93
- Cyrus the Younger 15, 31, 79, 116
- Dabdama', f. of Aqūbu 67
- Dadaparna, a Choresmian 67-68, 164-65
- , f. of Purḫat 68, 111
- Dadaršu, a prince 68, 98, 100
- , a land owner 68
- Dahizakka', f. of Ša-aḫiia-atalla' 68
- Da'mamiasta, f. of Bēl-bullisu 68
- Darius (name) 68-69
- Darius I 7, 46, 69, 136, 145, 162, 165; reforms of 5, 10-11, 15; reorganizes satrapies 3
- Darius II x, 30, 69, 98; wives of 115
- Darius III 64, 65, 69
- Darmakka', f. of Patištana' 69, 112
- Dārpama', f. of Uspara' 70, 139
- , s. of Kargē 69-70, 93
- Dataphernēs 67
- Dēmiši, s. of Tumunu, a Saka 70, 122, 130, 159
- Dēprada'. See Kēprada'
- Didea, s. of Urtagu 150
- DINGIR.MEŠ-da-a-ta 50
- Dizaka', a fief holder 70
- Duḫumišda', a creditor 70
- Dundana' a prince 70, 158
- Durmušdu', f. of Iddin-Bēl 71
- Ea-bullissu, s. of Mizdabigin 102
- , steward of Queen Parysatis 96, 115
- Ea-ibni, distributor of provisions 38
- Ea-zittišu, s. of Uḫdaparba, a slave 131
- Eilers, W. x
- Enlil-ašabši-iqbi, near Nippur 100, 138
- Enlil-šum-iddin, a member of the

- Murašû house 33, 34, 52,  
 125, 130, 131, 143  
 —, son of Aplā 105  
 Enlil-suppe-muḫur, manager of  
 Aršama 33  
 Esagil-bēlit, daughter of Bēl-  
 ittannu 57, 172  
 Esarhaddon 160  
 Eṣirtu, a slave woman 106, 156  
  
 Fradatēs 86  
 Fratafernēs 86.  
  
 Gambiia, d. of Parnaka, a land  
 owner 71, 109, 172  
 Gaumata the Magian 66, 74  
 Gimillu, an official 75  
 Girparna', slave of Arbareme 30,  
 71, 87  
 Gobryas 72, 79, 117. See also  
 Gubāru  
 Grypn, a Parthian name 72  
 Gubāru, first Persian governor of  
 Babylonia, 539 B.C. 72-73,  
 91-92, 131  
 —, governor of Babylonia and  
 Across-the-River under Cyrus  
 II and Cambyses, c. 535-25  
 B.C. 3, 73-78, 103, 108,  
 123, 140, 155, 160-61  
 —, spear-bearer of Darius I 74,  
 79  
 —, governor of Babylonia under  
 Darius II. 420--17 B.C. 5,  
 27, 49, 79-80, 117  
 Gukka', s. of Ḥanani-iāma, a  
 slave 80  
 Gundakka', s. of Gundakka' 64,  
 79, 80  
 —, s. of Tigra' 80, 125  
 Guraiau, a tenant 127  
 Gušurri', s. of Lābāši 80, 124,  
 125  
 Guzānu, an officer 56  
  
 Ḥabarda', f. of Astušebarma' 47,  
 81  
 Ḥadbaga'. See Adabaga'  
 Ḥambazu', f. of Artapama' 81  
 Ḥanani-iām, f. of Gukka' 80  
 Ḥananu-Jāma, s. of Udarma' 130  
 Ḥanni', s. of Udarma' 131  
 Ḥapimena, son of Pišamiš, an  
 Egyptian 176  
 Harbakka 31  
 Ḥaridapū, a manager of Pa-ap-[...] 81  
 Ḥarizanu, f. of Ninurta-aḫ-iddin 82  
 —, f. of Šamašaja, 81  
 —, f. of Šumaja 82  
 Ḥarmahī, f. of Aplā 143  
 —, s. of Bagadāta 51  
 —, slave of Manuštānu 97  
 Ḥarrimaz, f. of Aplā 82  
 Ḥidāta', son of Bēl-iddin 82  
 Hindukka 86  
 Hinz, W. x  
 Ḥiṣiaršu 82  
 Hitibel, a courier 151  
 HMDT' 137  
 Ḥumagammu, f. of Baga'siru 83  
 Ḥumaitu, the wife of Mannā-kī-  
 Ištarī 83  
 Ḥumardātu. See Umardātu.  
 Ḥumāta, f. of Tiriparna' and  
 Tiribaza' 83, 128  
 Ḥumban-taḫraḫ. See Imbadara'  
 Ḥungamu, f. of Nanā-iddin 83  
 Ḥurunnatu, a royal steward 83  
 Ḥurušadānu, f. of Bariki, an  
 Arian 84, 163  
 Huruzuštu, an official 84  
 Husing. G. x  
 Ḥuta[...]', s. of Pagakanna,  
 governor of Babylon and  
 Across-the-River 84, 107  
 HWMDT 137  
 Hydamēs 130  
 Hystanēs. See Uštānu  
  
 Iddin-Nabū, seller of a slave 157

- Iḫše, a land owner 85  
 Ilu-lindar, a guarantor for a debtor 126  
 Imbadara', ancestor of Bēl-aḫḫē-erība 153  
 Indaparnu. See Mundaparnu and Umintaparna'.  
 Induka', a tenant 86  
 Indukka, m. of Tutu 86, 130  
 Intaphernes 103, 136  
 Ipradāta, son of the prince Aḫiamanuš 26-27, 86, 158  
 Iprasakku 9  
 Iprāduparna', an *ustarbaru* official 44, 86, 111  
 Iqīša, s. of Kansakka' 93  
 Iqīša, s. of Zanganu, a fief holder 143  
 Irdabanuš 35  
 Irtašduna, Queen 7  
 Iskuduru, f. of Ispataru, an Areian 86-87, 138  
 Iskutikku, slave of Girparna' 71, 87  
 Isparda, f. of Barikia 87  
 Ispatara', a witness 87  
 Ispatara', s. of Iskuduru, an Areian 87  
 Ispatara', s. of Paḫiduru'u 87, 113  
 Ispataru, s. of Iskuduru, an Areian 86, 163  
 Ispaudu, s. of Atebaga', a land owner 87  
 Ispēšu, f. of Šun-iddin 88  
 Ispitāma', a satrap 34, 51  
 Ispītammu, foreman of the army scribes 88  
 Ispītammu, a land owner 88  
 Ispītammu, s. of Pātēšu, an official 88  
 Ispitāmu, s. of Pātēšu 112  
 Ištābuzana', f. of Bēl-ittanu, an Areian 89  
 Ištābuzana' (q.v.), a judge of the Sīn canal district 9, 57, 86, 88-89, 115, 134, 139  
 Iti-Marduk-balātu, of the Egibi house 13, 40, 111  
 Iti-Marduk-balātu, an official connected with temples 135  
 Jadiḫ-ili, a rent collector 33  
 Kakā, mentioned in a list 90  
 —, f. of Baga'dāta and Tiridāta, an Areian 51, 90, 127  
 —, f. of Uzā 90, 141  
 Kakia, a Mede 89, 155  
 Kalbā, an official 75  
 Kalbija, a creditor 51  
 Kamakka, f. of Aḫṣēti 27, 90, 157  
 Kansakka', f. of Iqīša 93  
 Kardara, a slave woman 43, 93  
 Kargē, f. of Dārparna' 93  
 Karguš, foreman of the lance bearers 93, 110  
 Kartakku, f. of Nidintu-Šamaš 94  
 Kartam, f. of Nariāspi 94, 105  
 Kēki, a witness 94  
 Keprada', f. of Bagēšu and Bēlšunu 64, 94  
 —, /Dēprada', f. of Marza', an Elamite 98  
 Keritunah' 72  
 Kidin-Bēl, agent of Zataṁē 143  
 Kidinnu-Bēl, s. of Patiridāta, a slave 112  
 Kī-Sīn, slave of Uštānu 141  
 K'k, a Choresmian name 89  
 Kupēšu, a witness 94  
 Kuraš, f. of Mardû 95, 156  
 Kur-ka 93  
 Kurrašu, f. of Mardû 98  
 Kurullāja, a "slave of Uštānu 140  
 KUSDANA', a land owner 95  
 Kušur-Ea, s. of Sīn-aḫḫē-bullit 18  
 Kušuraia, a man in Sippar 77  
 Lābāšī, the crown-prince's manager 38

- , steward of Dundana' 70  
 —, f. of Gušurri' 80, 124, 125  
 —, s. of Umaḥḥarrē, a foreman 132  
 Lalḥenna, f. of Zabirija 150  
 Laqip, overseer of the *garda* 38  
 Liblu, collector of rent in the Sīn canal district 9  
 Ludaku, son of Bēl-aḥ-iddin, the steward 41, 96
- Madbannu, a Median refugee 96  
 Madumītu, a Persian noblewoman 28, 41, 96, 115, 156  
 Mankija, Manuštānu's slave 97  
 Mannā-kī-Ištaria, of the Egibi house 83  
 Manuštānu, s. of Artarēme, a prince 36, 42, 96-98, 133, 137  
 Mardonios 98  
 Mardū, s. of Kurrašu, a charioteer 95, 98, 149  
 Marduk-ibni, an accountant 36  
 Marduk-našir-apli, chief of the Egibi house 61, 136  
 Marduk-šum-iddin, f. of Mitraen 102  
 Marduka, treasurer in Liduma 151  
 Marduknija, master of Unuatta 137  
 Mardunija, a land owner 93  
 —, unidentified 98  
 —, a steward of Dadaršu 98  
 Mardunugaš, an Elamite name 98  
 Marza, an Elamite 157  
 Masarni, who delivered some bricks 99  
 Masdiesu, s. of Šarru-īl-ū-a, a fief holder 99  
 Mašḍuku, a judge 99  
 Mayrhofer, M. x  
 Mazaios, a Babylonian satrap 99  
 Mazdaisna' 99
- Megabyzos 97  
 Megapanos 58  
 Menostanēs. See Manuštānu  
 Merodach-Baladan II 17  
 Mi'da', slave of Duḥumišda' 70, 100  
 Mithradāta 171  
 —, treasurer in Babylon 61, 101  
 Mithredath, a treasurer in Babylon 101  
 Mithrēnēs 101  
 Mithridatēs 100  
 Mithrobarzanēs in Greek 100  
 Mithropastes, s. of Arsitēs 102  
 Mitra, s. of Bēl[...] 100  
 Mitrabarzana 100  
 Mitradāta (name) 100  
 —, slave of Enlil-šum-iddin 126  
 —, agent of the Murašû firm 100  
 —, an official 100, 129  
 —, f. of Baga'mīri 57, 100, 118, 172  
 —, s. of Bagazuštu, steward of Dadaršu 63, 68, 100  
 Mitraen, s. of Marduk-šum-iddin, an agent of Tattannu 101  
 —, s. of Ū[...] -<sup>d</sup>Sin 101  
 Mitrāta, f. of Nidintu 101  
 —, a land owner 101  
 Mitraupasta 102  
 Mizdabigin, f. of Ea-Bullissu 102  
 Mizdaešu, f. of Adabaga' 25, 102  
 Mišbaturma 87  
 MTRBZN 100  
 MTRYN 102  
 Mukīn-apli, f. of Nabû-mīt-uballiḫ 115  
 Mundaparnu, governor of Babylonia 103  
 Munnatu, s. of Biesu 66, 103  
 —, s. of Nanā-iddin 103  
 —, s. of Uma'piria 103, 134  
 Mušēzib, s. of Nabû-bullissu 122  
 Na'id-šīpak, s. of Gundakka' 80

- Nabarzanes, a general and  
     chiliarch in Babylon 103  
 Nabarzanu 103  
 Nabonidus 3  
 Nabû-apla-iddin, a debtor 15  
 Nabû-apla-iddin, master of a  
     slave 42  
 Nabû-aḥ-ittannu, a Babylonian 31  
 Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit, governor of  
     Babylonia under Nabonidus  
     and Cyrus I 3  
 Nabû-aḥḥē-bullit, f. of Usmā 138  
 Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin, the chief of the  
     Egibi house 152, 154  
 Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, s. of Appiešu  
     29  
 Nabû-bullissu, f. of Šātenna' and  
     Mušēzib 122  
 Nabû-gallibi, a slave of Bagasaru  
     61  
 Nabû-ittannu, a financial official  
     8  
 Nabû-ittannu, an agent of Mitraen  
     102  
 Nabû-kāšir, another name of one  
     Tīridāta 127  
 Nabû-le'û 149  
 Nabû-mīt-uballit, son of Mukīn-  
     apli, a judge 115  
 Nabû-nādin-aḥi, a legal official  
     134  
 Nabû-nāšir, bearer of message  
     from Parnaka 108  
 Nabû-šar-ušur, son of Tattannu 4  
 Nabû-uballit 42  
 Nabû-zēridin, f. of Bagapāta 59  
 Nabūgu, s. of Gubāru 78, 103  
 Nanā-iddin, s. of Bagadāta, an  
     Areian 53  
 —, a dašīia of Gubāru 49  
 —, s. of Ḥumgamu, a fief holder  
     83  
 —, f. of Munnatu 103  
 Nana-silim, a slave woman from  
     Gandhara 165  
 Napatanu, a judge 104  
 Napēnna', s. of Atrumanu', an  
     Areian 49, 105  
 Napiani, s. of Atrumana', an  
     Areian 49, 105  
 Napiani, unidentified 105  
 —, f. of Zabīni, an Areian 105  
 Napsannu, s. of Tattannu 4  
 Nariāspi, s. of Kartam 94, 105  
 Neba'mardu', a prince 98, 105  
 Nebuchadnezzar II 54, 64, 96,  
     101, 149  
 Nebuchadnezzar IV 136, 140  
 Nergal-iddin, f. of Bagabīnaši 50  
 —, f. of Pattazu 113  
 Neḥtiḥūr, manager of Aršāma 142  
 Nidintu, a slave of Bagapa' 58,  
     141  
 —, s. of Mitrāta 101  
 Nidintu-Bēl, purchaser of a  
     donkey 109  
 Nidintu-Enlil, s. of Bagaina, a  
     lessor 54, 172  
 Nidintu-Sīn, son of Sīn-aḥḥē-  
     iddin, a hired replacement  
     soldier 18  
 Nidintu-Šamaš, a Babylonian 63  
 —, s. of Kartakku, slave of  
     Artahšar 94  
 Ninakku, a Mede 156  
 Ninurta-aḥ-iddin, s. of Ḥarizanu  
     82  
 Ninurta-ētir, f. of Tīridāta 127  
 Nināku, a "Mede" 106  
 —, agent of Zataṁē 106, 143  
 Niriabignu, an Elamite 95, 106,  
     157  
 Niḥistu-tābi, bailiff of Mitrāta  
     101  
 Nukāma, the foreman of  
     "grooms" 103  
 Numagazu, superintendant of  
     Šatabaksu 106  
 Numaina', f. of Zabīn 107  
 Numingu, s. of Abigni 30, 107  
 Nāqidīni, in the Nippur region  
     118

- Okhos 30, 133  
 Ostanēs, the son of Darius II 141  
 Otanēs 84
- Pa-[...]-ḥu-u', s. of Umaḥpirē 133  
 Paḍakka, a Persian 107, 157  
 Pagakanna, f. of Ḥuta[...] 84, 107  
 Pakiki, slave of Gubāru 79  
 Pamē, a land owner 107  
 Pamū, f. of Urdia 107, 138  
 Pamunu, slave of Manuštānu 97  
 Pāpaku, f. of Bagajāzu 54, 107  
 Paragušu, s. of Ṭab-šalammu 108  
 Parē, a creditor 48  
 Parmenion 65  
 Parnaka, a bailiff 109  
 —, f. of Gambiia 71, 109  
 —, an official 76, 108-9  
 —, f. of Uḥējāgam 132, 109, 157  
 —, f. of a witness 109  
 Parnauḥū', a slave of Bagajāzu 55, 109  
 Parnuma', s. of Arturū[...] 110  
 Parnuš, s. of Šibbū, an official 110, 123  
 Parrina'niš, a slave of Karguš 110  
 Parrinazāta, a judge 110  
 Parrisakka' 110  
 Paruḥātu, manager of  
 Iprāduparna' 86, 111  
 Parsarutu, a land owner 110  
 Partammu, a Persian 111, 157  
 Partasamu, f. of Arbamiḥri 30, 111  
 Parurē, f. of Bagazuštu 112  
 Paruḥātu, steward of Baga'dātu 111  
 —, s. of Daḍaparna' 111  
 Parysatis, Queen (Purušātu) 14, 29, 58, 96, 115-116, 119, 158  
 Pasirinu, son of Simennu 48  
 Patan-<sup>d</sup>Esi, *ustarbaru* official 52  
 Patēšu, f. of Ispitāmu 87, 88, 112, 113  
 —, foreman of the scribe-  
 interpreters 112  
 Paṭiduru', f. of Ispatara' 87, 113  
 Patiridāta, a slave 37, 112  
 Patischorian 79  
 Patiza', a slave woman 43, 112  
 Patištana', s. of Darmakka', an  
 Areian 69, 112  
 Patmi-ustū 59  
 Patnāšu, f. of Pi-su-sa-as 112  
 Patnēsu, s. of Iddin-Nabū 113  
 Pattazu, f. of Negal-iddin 113  
 Pattemidu, a Mede 113  
 Patnāšu, a judge 104, 113  
 Petisas, f. of Spitamēs 88  
 Pharnaces, Pharnakēs 108  
 Pi-su-sa-as-ba/ma-ka-a-ša, s. of  
 Patnāšu 112  
 Piridātu, a foreman 114  
 Piriia[...], f. of Batraparsa' 114  
 Pirmizdi, f. of Bagapāta 114  
 Pirrina'niš, slave of Karguš 93, 114  
 —, agent of Iamma 85  
 Pitriia, a land owner 114  
 Piššiiia, bailiff of Baga'saru 61, 114  
 PRDPRN 86  
 Prdt 86  
 Primizdi, f. of Bagapāta 59  
 PRŠNDT, s. of Artadāta 35, 114  
 Puḥḥuru, son of Nergal-iddin 50  
 Purḥat. See Paruḥātu  
 Puršu 6  
 Purušātu, Queen. See Parysatis
- Ragamien 116  
 Raḥim-ili, f. of Udarna' and  
 Zabdiia 130  
 Ratakka', a slave 29  
 Rataḥšah, the daughter of King  
 Xerxes 44, 116-17, 120  
 Ratakka', a slave 117  
 Razamarna, s. of Razamumarga'  
 43, 46, 106, 117  
 Razamumarga', f. of Razamarna  
 117

- Rhoparas, governor of Babylonia under Artaxerxes II 117
- Rīmūt-Ninurta, a member of the Murašū firm 9
- Ruddātu, s. of U-[...] 117
- Rušundāti, a land owner 57
- Rušundātu, a land owner in Nāqidīni 118
- , b. of Mitradāta 57, 100, 118
- Rušunpāti, a land owner 57
- , a scribe-interpreter 41
- Rušunpātu, f. of Barikia nad Bēl-aḥ-iddin 118
- , a *parastamu* 118, 145
- , a scribe-interpreter 118
- , a witness 118
- Ruzuštu, f. of "the Borsippean" 118
- Ša-aḥiia-atalla', s. of Daḥizakka' 68
- Šabaḥtani', chief herdsman of Aršāma 33
- Šaddajanu, component in a toponym 120
- Sakita, a "Cimmerian" 119, 130, 161
- Šakka 119
- Šalamānu, s. of Urāza 138
- Samannapir, an Elamite 153
- Šamaš-erība, commander of an outpost 145, 164
- Šamaš-ētir, s. of Tūmanīia 129
- Šamaš-nāšir, s. of Urāza 138
- Šamaš-šum-lišir 149
- Šamas-uballiṭ, s. of Tīrijama 128
- Šamašaja, s. of Ḥarizanu 81
- Šammū, s. of Baga-ḥaja 53, 120
- Sananiaqu, s. of Patiridāta, a slave 112
- Šarru-il-ū-a, f. of Masdiesu 99
- Šašeinnu 120
- Šata'ani', an Arian fief holder 120
- Šatabaksu, a land owner 106, 121
- Šatabari, an official 121
- Šatabarzana, s. of Bēl-ēpuš 121
- Šatabarzanu, master of Arma'beri 121
- Šataḥma', an official? 121
- , owner of a slave 121-22
- Šatarita 122
- Šātenna', s. of Nabū-bullissu, a land owner 122
- Satibarzanēs, courtier of Artaxerxes I 121
- Schmitt, R. x
- Šebarzanu, an official 122
- Secyndianus 98
- Sekyndianos 28, 30
- Šeta', s. of Birakka' 67, 70, 122, 130
- Sethar-bozenai 121
- Šezata', f. of Bēl-ibni, an Arian 123
- Sheshbazzar, the governor of Judah 101
- Šibbu, an official 123
- , f. of Parnuš 110, 123
- Šiḥā, s. of Bagadātu 49, 51
- , son of Ḥašdaja, foreman of the gardu 6
- , overseer of a prison 84
- Sijāmu', an official 119
- Silim-Bēl, the superintendent of the royal dates 13
- Šillāja, the manager of Gubāru 77
- Šitūnu, a prince 119
- Sīn-iddin, s. of Artabi 35
- Šiški, son of Itti-Marduk-balātu, member of the Egibi house 89
- Šiṭa', a slave of Aršāma 34
- Šiṭirpama 129
- Šitrenna', f. of Zabīn 123
- Sogdianus (Secyndianus) 30, 98
- Spitamēs, Spitamās, Spithamēs 88
- ŠŠPRN 129
- ŠTBRZN 121
- Stolper, M. W. x
- Šulum-ana-Bābili a legal official 134

- Šum-iddin, s. of Ispēšu, chief brewer 88  
 Šum-ušur, f. of Aspabar 46  
 Šumaja, s. of Țarizanu 82  
 Šummu, a Mede 123, 155  
 Surummu, f. of Zamaspa' 120, 143  
 Surundu, agent of Arim 44, 120  
 Suta' 120  
  
 Țab-šalammu, f. of Paragušu 108  
 Tachos. See Ariayarshan  
 Taddannu, s. of Arta[...] 44  
 —, son of Tirijama 128, 161  
 Taddinu, s. of Nergal-ētir 51, 155  
 Taḫima-ušaḫtu, d. of Sammanapir 59  
 Tammari, son of Untani, an Elamite 153  
 Tammišnūri, s. of Ume'barra, a fief holder 136  
 Tāta, f. of Tiridāta, an Areian 124  
 —, s. of Zabdiya, a "judge" 124  
 Tatakka', a Saka sailor 124, 162  
 Tatia, a lender 124  
 —, f. of Urāna 124, 138  
 Tattannu, satrap of Across-the-River 4  
 —, s. of Bagajāzu, foreman of the Areians 55, 163  
 —, son of Dadia, an Areian 172  
 —, a steward 102  
 Tattenai. See Tattannu, satrap of Across-the-River  
 Terihiliya, a slave of Gusurri' 80, 124-25  
 Terikāmu. See Tirakām. 125  
 Tigra'. f. of Gundakka' 80, 125  
 Tiḫupardesi, f. of Amurkiki 125  
 Tirā, slave of Gušurri' 80, 124, 125  
 Tirākām, a Murašū agent 125-26  
 —, s. of Bagapānu 59, 125  
 Tiriaimuš, s. of Parnaka 109, 126, 132, 158  
  
 Tiribaza', s. of Humāta, a Saka 83, 126, 128, 161  
 Tiribazos 127  
 Tiridāta, associated with Esagila temple 127  
 —, s. of Kakā, an Areian 51, 90, 127, 163  
 —, s. of Ninurta-ētir, an Areian 127, 172  
 —, s. of Tāta, foreman of the Areians 124, 127  
 —, s. of Ulana' 128  
 — (Nabū-kāšir), an *ustarbaru* official 52, 127  
 Tiridatēs 127  
 Tirijama, f. of Balāḫu 128  
 —, f. of Šamaš-uballiḫ 128  
 —, f. of Taddannu 128  
 Tirikām. See Tirakām  
 Tirikāmu. See Tirakām  
 Tiriparna', s. of Bēl-aḫ-iddin, foreman of the Sakai 128  
 —, s. of Humāta, foreman of the Sakai 83, 126, 128, 161  
 Tissaphernes, satrap of Caria 116, 129  
 Tritantaechmes, son of Artabazus, satrap of Babylonia under Darius I 129  
 TRYDT/TRYDT' 127  
 Tūmanūia, f. of Šamaš-ētir 129  
 Tumēa, a slave of Mitradāta 101, 129  
 Tumuni', a land owner? 129  
 Tumunu, f. of Dēmiši 129, 130  
 Tutu, chief merchant 130  
  
 Ubaratta, two Choresmians 130, 164  
 Udarna', f. of Ḫanni' 131  
 —, f. of Ḫananu-Jāna 130  
 —, s. of Raḫim-ili 130  
 Udatnu 131  
 Udinna', master of a slave 131  
 Udunātu, f. of Ummadātu 131, 136



- Udunē, son of Imbadenna 149, 150  
 Ugbāru. See Gubāru, first  
     Persian governor of Babylon  
 Uḫdaparna, f. of Ea-Zittišu 131  
 Uḫebarra', f. of Uruddatu 131  
 Uḫējāgam, s. of Parnaka 109, 126, 132, 157, 158  
 Uḫiia, wife of Kakiia, a Median woman 89, 132, 156  
 Uḫumana', f. of Bibā 132  
 Ukiiria, a Choresmian 132, 164  
 Ulana', f. of Tiridāta 128  
 Umaḫḫarē, f. of Bēl-apla-ušur 133  
 —, f. of Lābāši 132  
 Umaḫpirē, f. of Pa-[...]-ḫu-u' 133  
 Umakuš, Artaxerxes III 133  
 Umamuši, slave of Manuštānu 133  
 Uma'piria, f. of Munnatu 103, 134  
 Umardāta, judge in Nippur 9, 57, 83, 86, 88, 134, 138  
 Umar'mira', governor of Ḫumadēšu 134  
 Umartaspa' 135  
 Umarzanu 135  
 Umastanu, a judge 135  
 Umasu. See Umakuš  
 Ume'barra, f. of Tammišnūri 136  
 Umintaparna', a general of Darius I, Babylonian rendering 136  
 Ummadātu, s. of Udunatu, a judge 8, 47, 131  
 Ummanšipir, an Elamite 150  
 Umurū, f. of Atimušti 137  
 Unat, f. of Bagarapa 59  
 Un-na-par 137  
 Unnatu. See Unuatta  
 Unuatta, f. of Bagarapa 137  
 —, father of Iddin-Bēl? 137  
 —, a land owner 137  
 —, slave of Manuštānu 97, 137  
 —, slave of Marduknija 137  
 Urāna', s. of Taia 138  
 Urāza, f. of a witness 138  
 —, f. of Šamaš-Nāšir and Šalamānu 138  
 Urdia, s. of Pamū 107, 138  
 —, bailiff of Uštāna 138, 141  
 Uruddātu. See Umardātu  
 Uruddat, s. of Uḫebarra' 117, 131  
 —. See also Ruddātu  
 Urtagu, f. of Didea 150  
 Uskuduru'. See Ikuduru'  
 Usmā, s. of Nabū-aḫḫē-bullit, a land owner 138  
 Uspamiš 139  
 Uspara', s. of Dārparna' 139  
 Ūsparra', s. of Dārparna' 70, 139  
 Uspataru'. See Ispataru'  
 Uštabuzana'. See Ištabuzana'  
 Uštāna, owner of an estate 138, 141  
 Uštānu, governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River 3-4, 28, 58, 84, 121, 139-141,  
 —, landowner, possibly son of Darius II 141  
 Ušuka', a Saka sailor 124, 141, 162  
 Utāna 84  
 Uzupa'taru. See Ispatara'. 142  
 Uzā, s. of Kakā 58, 90, 141  
 Ū-[...]-<sup>d</sup>Sin, f. of Mitraen 101  
 van Soden, W. x  
 Vāyaspāra, f. of Umintaparna' 136  
 Warōhī, a prince 142  
 Wnn-nfr.w, an Egyptian name 103, 137  
 WNPR, Aramaic version of an Egyptian name 137  
 WŠTN 139  
 WYDRNG 130  
 Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 73  
 Xerxes 3, 4, 17, 82, 84, 117; religious policies of 168

- Zabirija, son of Lalḥenna 150  
 Zabdija, f. of Tāta 124  
 —, s. of Raḥim-ili 130  
 Zabin, s. of Numaina', a fief holder 107  
 —, s. of Šitrenna' 123  
 Zabini, s. of Napiani, an Areian 105  
 Zabraganu 142  
 Zabregan 142  
 Zadok, R. x  
 Zamaspa', a law official 9, 143  
 —, s. of Surummu, a fief holder 120, 1442-43  
 Zanganu, f. of Iqīšā 143  
 Zānukku, a land owner 143  
 Zatamē, a prince 106, 143  
 —, f. of Bēl-ittanu 143  
 —, owner of a house in Babylon 143  
 Zattumēšu, a Magus 144, 166  
 Zērūtu, husband of Gambiia 71, 172  
 Zimaka', f. of Bagaina 54, 144  
 Zimakka', f. of Aḥu'u 144  
 Zitti-Nabū, son of Mušēzib-Bēl 41-42  
 ZMSP 142  
 Zopyros, Persian satrap of Babylonia under Darius I 58, 144  
 Zummā, owner of a house 111  
 ZYWK 144

## Places

- Across-the-River (Syria) 3, 73;  
 Bēlšunu as governor 6;  
 governors of 140; Huta[...] 84;  
 separation from Babylonian satrapy 84  
 Ailtammu Dūrgaraš, a town in Western Iran 155  
 Akkad, Governor of 79  
 Amanu 75-76, 131, 109, 123, 155, 164  
 Areia, Aria 163  
 Assyria 4, 73; Median occupation of 153  
 Bāb-Nār-Šamaš, a place 58  
 Babylon 13, 158; as royal capital 3;  
 Bagasaru as official in 61;  
 Cambyses II in 92; capture by Darius I 145; destruction of after revolt of 482 B.C. and revival 4; Gubāru's residence there 78; occupation by Cýrus 72; surrender to Alexander 59;  
 Babylonian chronicle 133;  
 Egyptian quarter 176  
 Babylonia 73; governors of 84, 117, 140, 144; kingdom of 4; revolt of 82; southern under direct rule of Cyrus II 90;  
 Babylonian; Kingdom of; after the Achaemenid conquest 3;  
 Babylonian culture; under the Achaemenids 20; estates of Persian nobility in 158; administration under the Achaemenids 3-6; ethnic makeup of population ix; revolt of in 484 and 482 B.C. 4; satrapy of; organization 5; taxation of 11; under Achaemenids; history of study x; under the Persians ix;  
 Bagadāta, a slave of Ispitāma' 51  
 Bactria 164  
 Bagdātu, a place near Babylon 51

- Bannishaja, near Nippur 30  
 Beri 171  
 Bīrtu-ša-Kinā (probably near Sippar 107, 157  
 Bīt-abi-aḫi 163  
 Bīt-a-bi-is-ta(tu)-tu 159  
 Bīt Ar-ta- 44  
 Bīt Arza', near Nippur 45  
 Bīt Ba-ga-a'-da-a-ti 53  
 Bīt-eššu 4  
 Bīt-Ḥaddija, near Nippur 85, 93  
 Bīt Iḫ-še-e, a place 85  
 Bīt-Kalbā, prob. near Borsippa 140  
 Bīt-Kudurri, poss. near Kish 62  
 Bīt Par-ri-sa-a-a, "Town of the Persians" 157  
 Bīt rab-kāširi, a place in or near Babylon 60  
 Bīt Šaddajanu 120  
 Bīt-Šahiran 44, 117, 120  
 Bīt-ša-pān-ekalli, near Nippur 32  
 Bīt-Šapšap, a town 68, 164  
 Bīt Tabalāja, near Nippur 55, 84, 163  
 Bīt-tābi-Bēl, a suburb of Babylon 61  
 Bīt-Uqūpi 29  
 Bīt-Ussartu 163  
 Bīt-Zabraganu, near Babylon 142  
 Borsippa 28, 35, 41, 43, 46, 47, 49, 51, 62, 84, 87, 90, 92, 94, 101, 111, 118, 121, 122, 134, 137, 150, 158  
 Canal of Gubāru 77-78  
 Canal of Uštānu 141  
 Central Asia, Achaemenid conquest of 164  
 Choresm 145, 164  
 Cunaxa 129  
 Cutha, a city 47  
 Damar, a place 106, 121  
 Dilbat 13, 27, 157  
 Dur[...], a place 135  
 Eanna temple 6, 20, 54, 74, 75, 76, 77, 104, 108, 109, 122, 123, 124, 141, 145, 155, 162, 164, 166, 168; required to supply slaves and supplies for government 78; archive of 120  
 Ebabbarra temple in Sippar 20, 67, 140, 149, 152  
 Ebir-Nāri. see Across-the-River  
 Ecbatana 48, 50, 137, 154, 155; as royal capital 3  
 Egypt 33, 142  
 E-imbi-Anu temple 27  
 Elam ix  
 Enlil-ašabši-iqbi, near Nippur 128  
 Esagila temple 90, 127, 103, 168; Cyrus as caretaker of 95  
 Ezida temple, Borsippa 56; Cyrus as caretaker of 95  
 Galia, place near Nippur 57  
 Gandhara 166  
 Gaugamela 67, 99, 166  
 Gišši, a town 58, 90, 141  
 Gutium 72, 73  
 "harbor of Gubāru," Sippar 77-78  
 Ḥarran 153  
 Ḥarri-Piqūdu canal, near Nippur 30, 110  
 Ḥarrikippi canal 75  
 Harrima 163  
 Herat 163  
 Ḥidalu, Elamite city 150  
 Ḥursagkalammu (Kiš), a place 120  
 Ḥuṣ-Šagibi, possibly near Nippur 112, 37  
 Ḥuṣṣēti-ša-maguš ("Reeds of the Magus") 166  
 Ḥuṣṣēti-ša-Nāšir, near Nippur 85  
 India, satrapy of 165  
 Iran, contacts with Mesopotamia ix  
 Isin, a city 13  
 Jerusalem, Temple of 101

- Judah, country 101
- Kabaru canal 97
- Kār-Ninurta, near Nippur 56
- Kish 38, 53, 70, 77, 92, 100, 144
- KSP', a settlement 165
- Larak, a place 97
- Larissa 154
- Liduma, Elamite town 151
- Manāhu, a town 30, 51, 107
- Margiana 164
- Māt Akkadī, satrapy of Babylonia 4
- Māt-Tāmti, "Sealand" 48
- Matezziš, Elamite name for  
    Ḫumadēšu 151
- Media 73, 82; called Gutium 73
- Mesopotamia 73
- Mespila 154
- Milidu, near Nippur 85, 93
- Mosul, Iraq 160
- Nār-Uštānu 141
- Nippur x, 5, 13, passim; canal of  
    128; fiefs around 17; governor  
    of 56; Gubāru owned land there  
    78; harbor district 125; Judges  
    of 9; residence of governor  
    under Darius II 79; role after  
    decline of Babylon 4; ruled  
    directed by Cyrus 91; Nippur,  
    Egyptians in 176; estates of  
    princes near 158
- Nisa 62
- Opis, a city 116, 152
- Persepolis 113, 151; as royal  
    capital 3
- Phoenicia 73
- "Reeds of Gubāru" in or near  
    Babylon 77-78
- Ribū, a place 121
- Šahrinu, a suburb of Babylon 15,  
    50
- Šalammu near Nippur 50, 51, 82,  
    87, 89, 105, 127, 163
- Šá-ut-te-nu-iš, a place in an Elamite  
    Persepolis tablet 122
- Sealand 48
- Sidon, revolt of 133
- Šihu, near Babylon 42
- Šiliḫtu canal 57, 118
- Sin canal and district 25, 38, 57,  
    86, 88, 102, 118, 124, 134;  
    judges of 9
- Sin-magir canal 33, 85
- Sippar 13, 16, 18, 20, 46, 50, 70,  
    77, 130, 155, 158; Cambyses II  
    in 92; Egyptians in 176;  
    Elamite documents found at 153
- Šuanna quarter in Babylon 77
- Šuman, part of Babylon 136
- Susa (Šušan) 3, 12, 28, 39, 72,  
    122, 128, 150; palace in 140  
    152
- Šušan, quarters in Babylon and  
    Borsippa; town near Nippur  
    150, 153
- Tabānu, near Borsippa 28, 32, 138
- Tamirtu Bīt-pānija, a place 99
- Til-Gabarra, near Nippur 67, 163
- Tok-kala 89
- "Town of the Persians." 157
- Tyre 145
- Ur 12, 13, 19, 100
- Uruk 6, 17, 20, 63; ruled directed  
    by Cyrus 91
- Zamarkime, a place 58

## General Subjects

- Accountants 8, 36, 37  
 Accounts 54; of temples 124  
 Administration of Babylonia 3-6  
 Adoption 100, 129  
 Agrarian relations 12-15  
 Ahuramazda 167  
 Akkadian, in Achaemenid  
   administration of Babylonia ix-x, 173; loanwords from Old Persian 169; loanwords in Old Persian 169  
 Akkadians, governor of the, title 79  
 Alfalfa 16  
 Animals, draft 13, 33; Sacrificial 76  
 Anu, a goddess 168  
 Arabs 77  
 Aramaic 137, 151, 167; in  
   Achaemenid administration of Babylonia ix-x; use by Iranians in Babylonia 173-174  
 Arameans 118  
 Archers 164; Saka as mounted archers 162  
 Architecture 20  
 Areians 27, 50, 51, 53, 55, 64, 69, 84, 86, 87, 89, 90, 94, 105, 110, 112, 120, 123, 124, 127, 162-164, 171, 172  
 Areioi, Arioi. See Areians  
 Armenians 68  
 Artimu, a Lydian goddess 45  
 Assayer 8  
 Assemblies, popular 131, 150, 175; jurisdiction under Achaemenids 8; of non-Babylonians 176; of temples 54  
 Assurbanipal cylinders 95  
 Assyrian Dictionary x  
 Astrologers 135  
 Astronomy, Babylonian ix, 37, 133  
 Babylonian documents ix-x  
 Babylonians; as city governors and judges 3, 5; as soldiers 16; privileges 175-176; in Elam 150-151, 152; in Iran 150-151; in Media 154-155  
 Bactrians 163, 165-166  
 Barley 19, 34, 36, 39, 43, 44, 55, 56, 61, 71, 84, 85, 86, 93, 97, 100, 101, 102, 105, 106, 115, 122, 124, 125, 126, 134, 141, 161; exported to Elam 151  
 Beer 19, 39, 51, 55, 56, 71, 75, 78, 107, 109, 110, 119, 140, 161  
 Behistun Inscriptions 69, 84, 98, 103, 130, 136  
 Bēl, a god 38, 46, 76, 77, 143  
 Bow fiefs 8, 15, 16, 18, 27, 39, 42, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51-53, 56, 64, 65, 81, 69, 70, 82, 83, 85, 86, 89, 90, 94, 97, 105, 107, 110, 112, 115, 120-21, 123, 126-29, 136-38, 143, 144, 157, 161, 163, 167  
 Brewers 58  
 Brickburners 124  
 Bricks 75  
 Bye-portion 11  
 camels 60  
 canals 13-14, 77, 106, 161; leases of 111, 137, 139  
 Carians 16-17  
 carpenters 17, 124  
 "carpet bearer" 52  
 carpets 62  
 Caspians, an Iranian tribe 165  
 cattle, temple 62, 109; leases of 31, 33, 35, 37, 45, 53, 55, 66, 73, 110, 114, 116, 145; overseer of 7  
 cavalry fief 16  
 chancellor 5, 123

- chariot drivers 150
- chariot fief 16
- chick peas 85
- Choresmians 67, 75, 119, 123, 130, 131, 132, 145, 155, 161, 163, 164-165, 171
- Cimmerians. See Sakai
- Citizens, of Babylonian cities 68, 175
- Clothing 62, 96; "Median" 126; woolen 126
- "commander of the fort," a title 56, 127
- "commissar of the temples," a title 135
- Commissioner, royal 54
- copper 123
- coppersmiths 155
- corvée 56, 75, 174
- Couriers and messengers 49, 68, 78, 140, 151
- cress 61, 106
- Crimes 104
- cuneiform script x
- Daha-, a tribe 68
- Damages, suits for 34, 51, 52
- Date palms 64, 86, 87, 132
- Dates 13, 32, 48, 51, 55, 57, 58, 61, 67, 78, 85, 88, 89, 96, 100, 109, 112, 113, 115, 120, 126, 139
- Debtors, imprisonment and release of 74, 126
- Debts, repayment of 100
- Determinatives xi. 50. 108
- Dogs 129
- Donkeys 109
- Doors 117
- Egibi business house 42, 46, 47, 59, 61, 83, 89, 92, 101, 119, 151, 154, 156, 165
- Egyptians ix, 58, 59, 99, 145, 176
- Elamite and Elamites x, 43, 53, 59, 95, 106, 142, 149-153
- Elamite inscriptions 82
- Elamite Persepolis Tablets 20, 56, 59, 63, 65, 67, 69, 87, 89, 94, 99, 100, 101, 106, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117, 119, 125, 134, 136, 138, 139, 141, 142, 144, 151; Akkadian documents among 150
- Elephant tusks 62
- Elephants 166
- Equerry 30
- Estates, division of 83, 111
- Ewes 55
- Fiefs 14, 16, 68 taxes on 11
- Field plans 10
- Fish 140
- Fish pools 158
- Flour 39, 51, 56, 107, 110, 119, 124, 134, 161, 166
- Fodder 76
- Foreigners, legal status in Babylonia 175-177
- Foreman (*šaknu*) 39, 68, 114, 145
- Funerary practices 20, 156
- Gandharians 165
- Gate-keeper 140, 141
- Glebae adscripti* 175
- Goats 55
- Gods, worship of non-Iranian 167-168
- Gold 62, 108
- Grain 62
- Greek inscriptions 161
- Greek mercenaries 116
- Guaranty, for a debtor 28, 74, 87, 126
- Haoma 136
- Harnesses 159-160
- "Horse-feeders" 80
- Horses 129; purchase of 102
- Houses, leases of 143
- "Hurrian scribes" 173

- Indexer xi  
 Indian 40, 54, 59, 63, 86, 144  
     165-166  
 Informers 68  
 Inspections 74, 166; of temple  
     livestock 78  
 Interest 49, 122  
 Interpreters. *See* Scribe-interpreters  
 Interrogators 10  
 Iranians, as immigrants to  
     Babylonia ix; assimilation in  
     Babylonia 173-174;  
     distinguishing nationality by  
     names 171; legal status in  
     Babylonia 169-170; numbers in  
     Babylonia 170-171  
 Iranians, Eastern 165-166  
 Irrigation 13  
 Ištar, a goddess 168  
  
 Jews 174  
     judges 54, 79, 99, 102, 104, 110,  
         131, 134, 135; Iranian 8; terms  
         for 9; 135; the "golden judge,"  
         113; of the S'in canal district  
         57, 86  
 Judicial administration 8-10  
  
 Kanisurra, Elamite goddess 149  
 "King of Babylon," as title of early  
     Achaemenid kings 3, 82, 90-92  
 "King of the Lands," as title of  
     Achaemenid kings 3, 82, 91  
 Kings of Persia, titles 82-83  
 "King of Persia and Media," title  
     82  
  
 Lance bearers 110  
 Land disputes 11, 28, 157  
 Land, agricultural 12, 15; crown  
     13-15; low price of 12; leasing  
     of 12; registration of 11; sales  
     of 71, 99  
 Languages, replacement of 174; use  
     of foreign languages in  
     administration 167  
  
 Law 134; Babylonian ix  
 Law officers 41, 57  
 Leases, of land 29, 30, 33, 34, 35,  
     42, 44, 47, 51, 53, 54, 57, 60,  
     68, 70, 71, 80, 85, 87, 97, 102,  
     104, 111, 113, 119, 127, 137,  
     141; of canals 13, 137; of crown  
     land 13; of houses 113, 132,  
     143  
 Lentils 85  
 Letters 85; Aramaic 142  
 Linen, Gandharian 165  
 Livestock. *See* Cattle  
 Loans 47, 48, 49, 50, 70, 112,  
     118, 122, 124, 126, 136, 140,  
     149, 151, 152, 155  
 Lydians 80; as soldiers 16  
  
 Magi 144, 166-167; rations of 54  
 Mannean, a language 174  
 Marduk, a god 90  
 Marriage contracts 59, 101  
 Massagetae, campaign against 91,  
     93  
 Measuring containers for grain 98  
 Meat 140  
 Medes ix, 54, 75, 113, 123, 131,  
     143, 145, 170, 171; and  
     Babylonia 153-156  
 Median 17, 96, 174; use of Median  
     forms of Iranian names and  
     terms in Babylonian x  
 Merchants 17  
 Mesopotamia, Contacts with Iran ix  
 Messengers. *See* Couriers  
 Military colonies 160, 161, 163,  
     166 military service 51  
 Military service 174  
 Minorities, assimilation of 174;  
     legal status of 169-170  
 Mithra, a god 100, 171  
 Moneylending 92, 158  
 money 51, 53  
 Mortgages 71, 92, 112, 126, 140;  
     of slaves 46, 117, 156  
 Murašû firm and archive x, 12, 25-

- 145 *passim*, 158, 161, 163; as source for Achaemenid history x; on *ḥarū* 17; references to judges 8
- Nabonidus 149
- Nabû, a god 46, 58, 76, 77
- Names, Anatolian 45, 87
- , Babylonian, use by Iranians 101, 105, 127, 128, 132, 143, 164, 166
- , Egyptian 103, 112
- , Elamite 95, 98, 149
- , Iranian, in Babylonian documents ix-x; use by Babylonians 46, 59, 118, 131, 171, 172; use by Elamites 95, 157; Theophorous 171, 173
- , Semitic, use by Iranians 50, 84, 138, 162, 172-173
- Nanja, Uruk goddess 149
- Naqš-i-Rustam Inscriptions 79
- Neo-Assyrian empire 5
- Nisa ostraca 14
- Officials 17
- Oil 62
- Onions 61
- Orchards 57
- Orthocorybantioi, a Scythian tribe 161
- "Overseer of the regular dues" 48
- Oxen drivers 60
- Paradises 20
- Parthians 163
- Persepolis Fortification and Treasury Tablets. *See* Elamite Persepolis Tablets
- Persians 170, 171; in Babylonia 5, 156-159
- Phrygian 17, 80
- Poles 131
- Police 7
- Polis system in Babylonia 177; politeumata 177
- Prebendaries 175
- Princes 14, 26, 97, 119, 142; crown 15
- Prison 84, 104
- Promissory notes 4, 18, 28, 31, 40, 42, 43, 48, 51, 55, 59, 62, 65, 85, 98, 107, 111, 113, 117, 118, 119, 123, 124, 130, 137, 138, 139, 144, 154, 164, 166; abstract 122
- Rams 39, 51, 55, 56, 71, 107, 119
- Rations 28, 35, 41, 43, 46, 49, 53, 54, 55, 63, 67, 84, 96, 98, 105, 121, 124, 134, 139, 140, 162, 166
- Refugees, political 154
- Religion 3, 166-68
- Rent payments 27, 28, 31, 32, 38, 42, 44, 45, 47, 51, 53, 55, 56, 58, 61, 62, 63, 64, 68, 69, 70, 71, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 86, 88, 89, 93, 94, 96, 97, 100, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106, 109, 110, 115, 116, 118, 119, 121, 123, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 132, 135, 138, 139, 141, 142, 157, 158, 161, 163, 165; for warehouses 133; level of on agricultural land 13
- Sailors. *See* Ships
- Sakai 70, 77, 102, 115, 119, 124, 126, 128, 129, 130, 138, 139, 141, 159-162, 167, 170, 172; as soldiers 16; called "Cimmerians" 159; influence on in Babylonia 159-160
- Sales, of doors 117
- Satrap 6, 14, 51; as judicial authority 8
- Scribe-interpreters 7, 17, 38, 39, 41, 78, 79, 80, 92, 134, 140, 141, 124, 162
- Scribes 78, 140, 166, 173; Babylonian, in Iran 151; of the



- army 88
- Scythians 159-162, 169. See also Sakai
- Seals, seal-rings, and seal impressions 35, 46, 48, 63, 71, 80, 86, 102, 103, 110, 113, 115, 119, 121, 126, 129, 132, 134, 136, 141; Persian influence on Babylonian seals 20
- Semites, Western ix
- Sesame 19
- Ships 17, 56, 124, 141, 151, 162
- Silver 8, 10, 39, 40, 41, 49, 50, 54, 55, 56, 57, 62, 70, 71, 75, 83, 86, 96, 97, 103, 105, 107, 109, 110, 113, 116, 118, 119, 121, 122, 123, 126, 129, 131, 132, 140, 143, 155; circulation of 12
- Skudrians 87
- Slaves 27, 45, 71, 175; hiring of 131; mortgages of 106; sales of 29, 38, 43, 46, 47, 48, 57, 58, 59, 62, 66, 83, 90, 93, 106, 112, 117, 122, 124, 134, 135, 141, 151, 153, 165; of temples 19, 49, 76-78, 104, 145, 164; women 46, 117, 156
- Sogdians 163, 166
- Soldiers 71; hiring of replacements 18; recruitment 15-16
- Spelt 34, 85, 93, 106
- Stewards 35, 53, 64, 68, 92; of the royal household 9, 83, 102
- Storehouses 59, 81, 125, 158; leasing of 133
- Subareans 77
- Subjects, obligations to Achaemenid kinds 174
- Sweets 140
- Swordbearers 39
- Swords 163
- Tanners 17
- Taxes and tax payments 8-9, 10, 12, 39, 42, 48, 53, 80, 85, 88, 97, 102, 103, 105, 111, 113, 115, 118, 120, 121, 124, 125, 126, 128, 129, 133, 137, 138, 144, 157, 161, 174; collector of 97; in kind 11; on temples 19; on land 13; on lands of nobility 15; terms for 11-12
- Temples 175; estates of 152; expenditures of 155; Medes serving in 154; tithes 19, 85, 103; policies towards 19-20; regulation of 78, 140; requisitions from 109, 123, 124, 109; royal commissioner of 140; workmen of 104. See also Slaves, temple
- Terms, Old Iranian in Babylonian documents, administrative ix, 5-8; legal 9-10
- Thefts 54, 76, 104, 108, 130; of temple property 78
- Thracians 87
- Tir, a god 171
- Tithes, temple 19, 85, 103
- Titles, Old Iranian ix
- Tolls 43
- Toponyms, Iranian in Babylonia 158
- Treasurer 7, 60, 61
- Treasury 62
- Vases and vessels, metal 20, 162
- Vegetables 140
- Watchmen 124
- Water, price of 12
- Weapons 62
- Wheat 34, 61, 115
- Wine 46, 62, 84, 111, 139, 140
- Wood 75, 109
- Wool 49, 62, 75, 109, 139; issue of 120
- Workmen 36, 75, 166; of the royal household 166; hired 152
- Zoroastrianism 168



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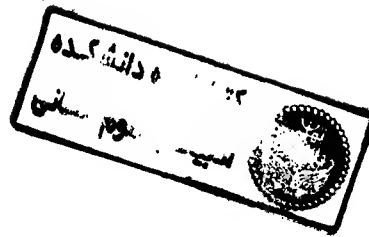
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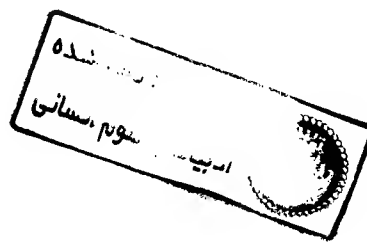
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